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LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

CONTAINING

NUMEROUS ANECDOTES OF HIS COURT AND TIMES.

With Illustrations.

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BOSTON:

LEE AND SHEPARD,

SUCCESSORS TO PHILLIPS, SAMPSON, & CO.

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## PREFACE.

Perhaps the wide compass of ancient and modern history does not present to our view a man more eminent than Napoleon Bonaparte. The world has scarcely yet settled down in quietness, from the convulsive agitations produced by his vast ambition and military enterprises. It is essential, therefore, that every person who has the least pretension to historical information, should make himself acquainted with all the important facts in the life of so prominent a Captain; and as it cannot be expected that the youthful reader can have the means or the disposition to study the voluminous works wherein the subject is elaborately treated, the American publisher hopes that he will render an acceptable service in presenting this general outline, with the view of introducing the subject to the attention of juvenile readers.

Philadelphia, Jan. 1844.





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# HISTORY OF NAPOLEON.

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## CHAPTER I.

### BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF NAPOLEON.



NAPOLEON was born at Ajaccio, a town of Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. The name had formerly been written Buonaparte, but during his first campaign in Italy, he dropped the "u." In this change he had no other motives than to assimilate the orthography to the pronunciation, and to abbreviate his signature. His father, Charles Marie Buonaparte, had, in the year 1767, quitted the gown for the sword; and under the standard of the celebrated General Paoli (who was godfather to his son Joseph), had fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, for the liberties of his country.

While the struggle continued, Madame Buona parte, the wife of Carolo, was constantly flying

from town to town, and from village to village, to avoid the French; dreading nothing so much as falling into their hands. After repeated changes of place, she was, two months after the Corsicans had given up the contest, delivered of her second son, to whom the name of Napoleon was given, after the saint, on whose festival he was baptized. The 16th of August, the day of his baptism, was the festival of St. Napoleon, a saint then peculiar to Corsica.

Some writers, during his consulship, and upon the eve of the re-establishment of Monarchy, were willing to furnish him with a genealogy, and found a relationship for him among the ancient kings of the North. But the soldier, aware the success of the revolution depended upon himself, and recollecting that, under the reign of equality, he had risen through the inferior grades, to a supreme rank in the army solely by his own merit, replied, that his nobility rested upon the services he had done his country, and those he dated from the battle of *Montenotte*.

The father of Napoleon had been educated at Pisa and Rome. He was a man of learning and ability, who displayed much zeal and energy in several very important circumstances, particularly during the debate at Corsica relative to the subjection of that island to the crown of France. Charles Bonaparte appeared shortly afterwards at Versailles, at the head of a deputation from his province, on



the occasion of the differences which had arisen, between the two French generals who commanded in Corsica, M. de Marbeuf and M. de Narbonne Pelez.

The credit of the latter, so powerful at court, was partly frustrated, by the frank and fearless evidence of Charles Bonaparte, who faithfully leaning to truth and justice, pleaded eloquently for M. de Marbeuf.

This was the origin and sole cause of the protection which this gentleman afterwards afforded the Bonaparte family.

Though Napoleon was but the second son of Charles Bonaparte, he was always considered as the chief of the family. His grand-uncle the Arch-deacon Lucien, who had been the guide and support of all his relations, gave him this title upon his death-bed, and charged his elder brother Joseph not to forget it; this, as Napoleon afterwards observed, was "*a true disinheritance, the scene of Jacob and Esau.*"

He acquired this remarkable distinction, from his grave and reflective character, and the right sense of reason which he displayed at a very early age.

Placed in 1777, at the military school of Brienne, he there applied himself wholly to the study of history, geography, and mathematics. He there had Pichegru for a tutor, and M. de Bourrienne for his comrade. He was totally absorbed in the mathematics, and his taste for politics was, even then, very remarkable. Interested for the independence

of his country, he showed a kind of worship for Paoli, whom he defended with some energy against the contrary opinion of his father.

It has been often asserted, though with little truth, that while at college he was solitary and taciturn, and without a friend. Neither is it more true what M. de Bourrienne, a discarded favourite, has said of him, that he was "*rough in his manners and possessed of little amiability.*" It was his precocious gravity, and his severe and *brusque* manner which caused them to accuse him of misanthropy and secretiveness of soul. Napoleon was on the contrary, naturally mild and affectionate. It was not till he arrived at maturity, that he manifested any change in his character: so at least he says, speaking of himself, in his dictations at St. Helena.

We are told also, that his love of solitude, and his preference, (as exclusive as precocious) for the military art, caused him in some measure to confine himself to his garden, and there fortify himself against the intrusion of his fellow-students. One of his schoolfellows has undertaken to disprove this story, and relate the fact; it is the famous anecdote of the fortress built of snow, and its siege and defence with snow-balls.

"In the winter 1783-4," says he, "so memorable by the quantity of snow which fell, and accumulated upon the roads, Napoleon was prevented from working in his little garden; which afforded him the only amusement he then enjoyed.

In his hours of relaxation, he was therefore forced to mingle with his comrades, in their common pastimes, that of promenading an immense hall. To escape from this monotony, Napoleon bestirred the whole school, and soon made them aware how much better they could amuse themselves, if they would get some shovels and open different passages through the snow, build some towers, dig some trenches, raise some platforms, &c. "When that is done," said he, "we will divide ourselves into companies, and commence an attack upon the fortress, and as inventor of the game, I install myself as director of the attacking party."

"The joyous troop received this project with enthusiasm; it was speedily executed, and this miniature warfare was continued for fifteen days, it was then interdicted in consequence of their putting gravel and small flints into their snow-balls, the result was that several scholars, both the besiegers and the besieged, were seriously hurt, I recall this because I was one of the most ill-used by this unfair play." (*See Frontispiece.*)

Thus to move the whole school, is some proof that young Bonaparte, in spite of his habits of lonely meditation, had acquired a certain influence over the mass of students, and that he had not shown in his relation with them the character of moroseness, roughness, or spite, which is attributed to him, upon the authority of prejudiced, or ill-informed biographers.

Not only did he enjoy the estimation of his comrades, but he also possessed in a high degree, that of his teachers ; many of whom have since pretended to have predicted his future greatness. M. de l'Eguille, his master of history, during Napoleon's emperorship found in the archives of the military school, a note in which he had many years back appended the following words to his scholar's name, "a Corsican by birth and character, he will do much if circumstances favour him."

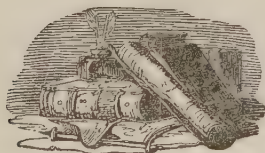
His professor of *belles-lettres*, in which he occupied a distinguished rank among the rhetoricians, Domairon, called his acquirements "flaming granites poured from a volcano."

At the examination of 1785, he was selected by the Chevalier de Keralio for the military school at Paris. In vain the officer who filled the situation of Inspector, complained that the young scholar was not of the requisite age, and that he was only studied in mathematics—"I know what I do," said he, "if I here overstep the rule, it is not to favour his family, I know nothing of this boy ; it is on his own account, I perceive a spark of genius here that cannot be too much cultivated." On entering this new school, Napoleon was not long in expressing his surprise and grief at the education which was there given to young men destined for the camp and the laborious profession of arms. It formed the subject of a note which he addressed to the principal, M. Berton, in which he represented "that



the king's scholars being all poor gentlemen could not afford the expensive charges of the establishment." He proposed to curtail the number of servants, and compel the students to groom their own horses. "Since they are far from being rich," said he, "and all destined for the military service, ought they not to be taught this? Accustomed to a sober life, they will become more robust, better able to brave the inclemency of the seasons, support with courage the fatigues of war, and inspire the soldiers under them with respect and devotedness."

Thus Napoleon, yet a lad, threw into a school address, the foundations of an institution that he one day realized in his power of Emperor. Equally distinguished at Paris as he had been at Brienne, he left the military school in 1787, and passed as a second lieutenant to the artillery regiment of *La Fere* then in garrison at Grenoble.



## CHAPTER II.

## COMMENCEMENT OF NAPOLEON'S MILITARY CAREER.



THE French Revolution broke out; all the enlightened youth of France applauded it with transport. The upper classes were infatuated with their titles and privileges, and many of these were to be found in the army, who did not partake of the popular enthusiasm.

Napoleon strongly entertaining some presentiments of his future destiny, followed the necessities of the time, in ardently embracing the popular party. But in this extreme patriotism, he still nourished in his soul an instinctive aversion for any thing that carried with it the shadow of anarchy, and joined with indignation in the turbulent meetings of the multitude to decry that power which one day devolved upon himself. On the 20th of June, 1792, he became an eye-witness to the insurrection at Paris. Standing upon one of the terraces at the Tuilleries and seeing Louis XVI. crowned with the cap of liberty by one of the mob, he cried, after a short but energetic harangue: "How came they to

suffer this *canaille* to enter? they should have blown four or five hundred of them into the air, and the rest would have taken to their heels."

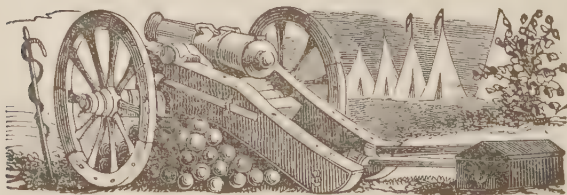
This is to be considered as the violent outbreak of a soldier indignant at the military, who by promptitude might have prevented this coarse and disgusting insult from befalling their sovereign. Shortly afterwards, upon the 10th of August, the Tuilleries was again occupied by the populace, and the disgraceful scene of the 20th of June was again reacted. Napoleon, a zealous partizan of the French Revolution, but at the same time strongly regarding the rules of order, and the considerations of legitimate power, left Paris in disgust, and resided again in Corsica. Paoli was at that time intriguing in that island in favour of England. The young French patriot deeply affected at such conduct, from that moment tore from his affections, the idol of his youth. He took a command in the national guards, and continued, until death, his hatred for the old man to whom, up to that time, he had shown so much respect, sympathy, and admiration.

Corsica yielded to the English flag. Ajaccio was laid in ashes, and the Bonaparte family after seeing their house pillaged, and converted into a barrack for the English troops, took refuge in France, and established themselves at Marseilles. Napoleon did not stop long in that town, but hastened his return to Paris, where the events succeeded with

such violence and rapidity, that each day and every hour gave the signal for a new crisis.

The south of France had now hoisted the standard of rebellion, and Toulon had been treacherously delivered to the English. The General Cartaux was charged by the convention, to proceed and re-establish the province under the laws of the republic, to secure its defeat, and to punish the traitors and rebels.

As soon as victory had brought this General to Marseilles, the siege of Toulon was ordered. Napoleon accompanied him there as the commander of the artillery. It was about this time that he published under the title of "*Souper de Beauçain*," a small composition of which the memorials of St. Helena say nothing, but which M. de Bourrienne declares he received from Bonaparte himself on his return from Toulon.



## CHAPTER III.

## SIEGE AND TAKING OF TOULON.



LOOKING at the army encamped under the walls of Toulon, Napoleon was not long in perceiving the band of intrepid volunteers within its ranks, but soon discovered that however enthusiastic its troops may have been, they boasted not one chief worthy to be their commander. General Cartaux, who affected a display and magnificence little compatible with republican principles, had yet more ignorance than show. The conquest of Toulon was a task much beyond the power of his forces, but he was far from perceiving their disheartening incapacity, on the contrary he gave himself credit for possessing those powers of conception and execution, which are particularly in request in any enterprise. It was this ridiculous confidence in himself that brought forth the famous plan, that provoked his recall, and which was couched in these terms :

“ The General of artillery shall storm Toulon for three days, at the end of which, I will attack it

under three columns, and carry it." Happily at the side of this singular and laconic tactician, there was found a subaltern officer, as much his superior by his science and talents, as he was inferior to him in rank. This was a young man twenty-four years of age. Although both simple and modest, he could not conceal the contempt that he felt for the most part of the men that the government and discipline made it a duty for him to regard as his superiors, and whose folly might become so fatal to the republic. This honourable contempt and the consciousness of his superiority above all those who surrounded him, encouraged him to control his chiefs themselves, most of whom permitted him to execute those measures he thought advantageous, without contradiction. During one of his daily quarrels with Cartaux, he once heard the wife of the general-in-chief say to her husband, "Let the young man alone, he knows more about it than you, and as you are the responsible person, the glory he achieves, will still be yours."

From his arrival at the camp, Napoleon with that prompt and sure foresight, which so invariably accompanied his talents upon the field of battle, had perceived that for the recapture of Toulon, it was necessary to bring the aid of the boats to the attack, "and," said he, pointing to a spot upon the map, "here lies Toulon: two days after the French troops shall have gained possession of this fort, the town itself wil' belong to the Republic." But a long

interval of delay succeeded before his advice was followed. The commander alone was endowed with a military genius, and this support from an enlightened officer, could not overcome the stupid infatuation of the general-in-chief. However there was among the representatives of the people, a man gifted with sufficient penetration and perspicuity to divine and foresee the great captain under the simple garb of a commander of artillery. Napoleon was entrusted with sufficient power to secure the success of his plans; Cartaux was recalled, the foreigner driven from Toulon, and the conqueror some time afterwards, in recalling the first triumph, for which he was in fact indebted to the confidence of the member of the Convention, said with gratitude "that it was Gasparin who had opened his career."

The conquest of Toulon due to young Bonaparte, was gained without having recourse to any of those tricks or expedients which at that time characterized the operations of most of the military chiefs, with the sanction of the commissioners of the Convention.

The events of the 9th Thermidor, for a time arrested Napoleon in the career which he had commenced with so much glory and success. Either his connection with young Robespierre had made him suspected, or his increasing glory had induced his enemies to seize this pretext for effecting his destruction; be it as it might, he was placed under arrest, by order of Albitte, Laporte, and Sallicetti,



for having made a journey to Genoa, the object of which was unknown to the colleagues. Declared unworthy of the confidence of the army, and dismissed by the committee of public safety, General Bonaparte did not quietly put up with that dismissal and accusation. He addressed a letter immediately to the representatives who had arrested him, in which we already discover the haughty, concise, and energetic style that is so frequently and easily recognized in all his subsequent conversations and writings.

This protest, noble and elevated in its simplicity, led the representatives to reflect that they had to do with a man of high capacity, and that it would be, therefore, hopeless to attempt to curb him by arbitrary persecution, without exposing themselves to a protracted and vigorous resistance. Considering then the exigencies of the moment, and warned by the suggestions of prudence, Albitte and Sallicetti, together with General Dumerbion, revoked *provisionally* their arrest, and pronounced the liberation of General Bonaparte, "whose military and local knowledge," they said, "may be of use to the republic."

Meanwhile, the thermidorian reaction having delivered the direction of the military committee to a captain of artillery, named Aubry, Napoleon was suspended from his command, and appointed General of infantry, to serve in La Vendée. Indignant at a change so injurious, and little disposed

to devote the talent he was conscious of possessing in so unworthy a service, he hastened, on arriving in Paris, to tender his resignation to the military committee, where he failed not to express himself with much warmth and vehemence. Aubry was inflexible; he told Napoleon that he was young, and that he must make way for his seniors, to which Napoleon responded, that one soon became old on the field of battle, and that he was no longer young. The president of the committee had never seen fire.

But this repartee was more calculated to ruffle the choler of Aubry, than to persuade him. He was inflexible in his determination, and the young officer, no less obstinate, preferred remaining destitute to giving way to injustice.



## CHAPTER IV.

## FIRST MARRIAGE OF BONAPARTE.



It is curious to observe the future dictator of Europe arrested in his career, rendered destitute, and struck out of the list of French generals on active service, by a measure signed by Merlin de Douai, Berlier, Boissy-d'Anglas, and Cambacérès, men who one day vied with each other in their zeal to obtain a smile or a gesture of approbation from the young officer whom they now treated with so little consideration and regard.

But he found among the actors of the Thermidor a man who wished not to let those military talents that Bonaparte evinced at Toulon lie idle. This was Pontécoulant, Aubry's successor, who without risking the reproaches of the ruling faction, employed Napoleon in laying down plans for others to carry into execution.

This obscure position, which accorded so ill with the character of a warrior, to whom glory and excitement were the necessities of existence, was,

however, very soon considered too advantageous and too honourable for the young officer whom it had been attempted to ruin. Letourneur de la Manche, who succeeded Pontécoulant in the presidency of the military committee, imbibed the old rancour of Aubry, and Napoleon lost all employment.

It was then that, despairing of overcoming the jealousies, the prepossessions, and the powerful hatred of which he was the object, and no less unwilling to throw up those capacities for military and political action, of which he felt himself possessed; for a moment he turned his eyes from Europe to cast them towards the East. He felt that he was formed for empire. Nature had endowed him with a mind for conceiving and accomplishing it; and if refused by France, the East still held out hopes.

Filled with this thought, he indited a note, pointing out to the French Government that it was to the interest of the republic to increase the means of defence of the Porte, against the ambitious views of the rest of Europe. "General Bonaparte," said he, "who since his youth has served in the artillery who commanded it at Toulon, and during two campaigns of the army of Italy, offers to depart for Turkey on a mission from the Government. He will be useful to France in this new career; if he can render the Turks more formidable, repair the defences of their principal fortresses, and build others, he will have done good service to his country "

“If a commissioner at war,” says M. de Bourrienne, “had signed, *granted*, at the bottom of this note, that word might have changed the face of all Europe.” But the word was not written. Internal politics and party struggles, prevented the Government from giving attention to military plans of which the result was as uncertain as the field was distant; and Napoleon continued to live idly in Paris. The Revolution did not let him wait long. The Royalists, aroused and emboldened by the disunion prevalent, incited the people to revolt against the convention. The insurgents were at first successful. General Menou, suspected of treason, and certainly guilty of indecision and incapacity, facilitated the victory of the sectionaries, whom he had been charged to disperse and reduce to submission; and he, with the Representatives accompanying him, seeing the determined front of the rebels, were glad to make a hasty retreat. The leaders of the convention, who had compromised themselves too much with the Royalists, recollected, when too late, that they had proscribed, disarmed, and imprisoned a crowd of ardent patriots, who might, in the present perilous conjuncture, have become intrepid auxiliaries.

The persecuted republicans heard the appeal of their persecutors, and fled to arms to save themselves from the common danger. But another General was required for that untutored army, after the check and humiliation of Menou; and Barras,

intended for its chief, could exercise little more than a nominal command. He had the good sense to perceive this, and provided himself with an adjutant, who was better acquainted with the art of war. He proposed General Bonaparte, and the Convention confirmed his choice by a decree which Napoleon heard from the public tribunals, to which he often resorted, the better to observe the conduct of the assembly, which held the destinies of the Republic in its hands.

According to the *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, Napoleon deliberated with himself nearly half an hour, whether he should accept or refuse the important situation to which he was called. He did not wish to fight against Vendée, neither could he decide without hesitation, to take up arms against the Parisians. "Should the Convention be defeated," he inwardly reflected, "what will result from our great Revolution? The numerous victories bought with so much blood, would become shameful instead of glorious deeds; and the enemy we have so often conquered, will triumph and overwhelm us with contempt. The defeat of the Convention will crown the enemy with glory, and at once seal the shame and slavery of the country." These sentiments, the enthusiasm of youth, being but twenty-five years of age, his destiny, and his confidence in his own powers, prevailed. He decided upon accepting the post, and presented himself to the Committee.

This resolution was fatal to the insurgents, for

Napoleon conducted his measures so well, that after a few hours' fighting, the Parisian army was driven from all its positions, and the revolt completely quelled.

The Convention recompensed its deliverer by appointing him General-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior. From this day Napoleon foresaw that he would soon have the military strength of France at his disposal; in fact, his taking the supreme command of the capital, was the first step to the throne.

The influence of the insurrectional movement of the Vendémiaire, and the almost universal recriminations which arose from men of all parties, against the Convention, caused them to order a general disarming of the sections. While this was going forward, a lad about ten or twelve years of age, came and entreated the General-in-chief to restore to him the sword of his father, who had commanded the republican armies. It was Eugène de Beauharnais. Napoleon granted his request, and treated him with much kindness. The youth wept feelingly, and related to his mother the kindness of the general; gratitude prompted her to thank him in person. Madame Beauharnais, who was still young, did not seek in this visit to conceal the grace and attraction for which she was so remarkable in the most brilliant societies of the capital. Napoleon was too much charmed with her, not to profit by the advantages which chance had thrown in his way. He spent all his evenings with Josephine,



while some wrecks of the ancient aristocracy, which he there met with, were not displeased with the little "mitrailleur." When most of the company had retired, a few intimate friends remained, such as M. de Montesquieu, and the Duke of Nivernais, to converse privately of the old court, and of a tour to Versailles.

It was not a mere acquaintance, nor the attachment of a day, that Napoleon had formed for Madame Beauharnais. Love the most ardent had taken possession of his soul, and his marriage with her took place on the 9th of March, 1796. A negress had foretold Josephine that she would be a queen. This was a circumstance she was fond of relating without appearing too credulous. Her union with Bonaparte was a first step towards the fulfilment of the prophecy.



## CHAPTER V.

## COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.



CHÉRER, the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy, had compromised the arms and honour of the Republic by his military incapacity; by his mismanagement, he had suffered his own horses to perish for want of subsistence, and the army to become destitute of every necessary; in consequence of which, they could no longer maintain their position on the coast of Genoa. The Directory were unable to supply them with money or food, and to put an end to their distress, sent them a new General; happily for the soldiers this was Bonaparte, whose genius speedily supplied the place of everything.

Bonaparte quitted Paris on the 21st of March, 1796, leaving the command of the Army of the Interior to an old general named Hatri. He had already formed his plan for the campaign, and resolved to penetrate into Italy by the valley which separates the Peaks of the Alps and the Apennines, and by a disunion of the Austro-Sardinian army, compel the

Imperial forces to cover Milan, and the Piedmontese to protect their capital. He arrived at Nice by the end of March; the head-quarters, which had been in this town since the commencement of the campaign, were fixed at Albenga.

The enemy's army was commanded by Beaulieu, a distinguished officer, who had acquired some reputation in the campaigns of the North; learning that the French army, which until now, had with difficulty defended itself, had suddenly changed its plan to the offensive, and was boldly preparing to force the gates of Italy, he hastened to quit Milan, and fly to the assistance of Genoa. Posted at Novi, where he had established his head-quarters, he divided his army into three bodies, and published a manifesto, which the French General sent to the Directory, saying he would reply to it "the day after the battle."

This battle took place on the 11th, at Montenotte; signaling at one blow the brilliant commencement of the campaign; it procured for the Republican General his first victory, and that from which he dated the origin of his nobility.

The result of those brilliant days in which the names of Joubert, Masséna and Augereau, were, for the first time, gloriously revealed to France, was the cutting off the van-guard of the enemy, commanded by Provéra, and making him lay down his arms; to prepare the disjunction of the Austrians and the Piedmontese, and to open to the Republican troops the road to Milan and Turin.

On the 22d, a fresh victory was gained. The Tanaro was passed—the redoubt of Bicoque carried, Mondovi and its magazines in the power of the Republican army; on the 25th, Cherasco was taken, it had several pieces of cannon, and the place was speedily fortified. An armistice was signed there on the 28th.

The king of Sardinia bestirred himself and opened active negotiations. He despatched the Count de Revel to Paris with instructions to procure the ratification of the peace. Napoleon on his side had already sent Murat, chief of a squadron of horse, to the capital, charged with a report of the victories which had signalized the opening of the campaign: “You can,” he wrote to the Directory, “make peace on your own terms with the king of Sardinia; if you intend dethroning him, you must delay about ten days, letting me know, when I will take immediate possession of Valencia and march upon Turin.

“I shall send twelve thousand men to Rome, as soon as I have beaten Beaulieu.”

The representatives of the nation received this message, decreeing for the fifth time in six days that the army of Italy deserved well of the country. The peace with the king of Sardinia soon added to the public joy. It was signed on the 15th of May, most advantageously for France.

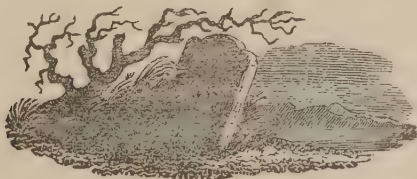
Bonaparte, having now but the Imperial forces to contend with, determined to move at once for the Adige, with that daring celerity which had, in a few

days, rendered him master of the finest provinces of the Sardinian monarchy; and set out after having written to the Directory:—"I march to-morrow against Beaulieu; I shall compel him to repass the Po; and crossing immediately after, shall take possession of all Lombardy; in less than a month I hope to be in the Tyrol, to meet with the army of the Rhine, and in concert with it, carry the war into Bavaria."

The 10th of May the fresh victory from which Bonaparte expected the possession of Italy was added to the page of history, rendering famous the name of *Lodi*, of which the republicans took possession.

This battle was the prelude to the conquest of Lombardy. In a few days Pizzighitone, Cremona, and all the principal towns of the Milanese, fell into the hands of the French army.

Bonaparte made his triumphal entry into Milan on the 15th of May, whilst the peace was being signed at Paris, which he had himself imposed on Sardinia, at Montenotte, at Dégò, at Millésimo, and at Mondovia.



## CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION OF FIRST CAMPAIGN IN ITALY. BONA-  
PARTE SAILS FOR EGYPT.



FROM the moment the victory of Lodi was gained, Napoleon's army became invincible. Beaulieu effected his retreat, abandoning behind him Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Como, and Cassano, —into which places the French entered.

Bonaparte received the submission of the town of Genoa, and that of Hercules d'Este, duke of Modena. That prince paid to the French a large contribution in money, and retired to Venice. General Vaubois took possession of Leghorn, where six hundred Corsicans had taken refuge. These Bonaparte sent back to their island, to get up an insurrection against the English; who were, in consequence, expelled thence. The conqueror imposed on the pope, as the conditions of peace, a payment of twenty-one millions, and one hundred masterpieces from his museums. The king of Naples was taxed at six millions. Bonaparte then marched upon Vienna; and the army of the Sambre and Meuse,



under Jourdan, and that of the Rhine, under Moreau, moved in the same direction. The archduke Charles, the emperor's brother, was commander-in-chief of the Austrian army; and Moreau began by gaining from him four consecutive victories. He was, then, about to join his forces with those of Jourdan, when, inspired by the danger in which he saw himself placed, the archduke detached thirty thousand men, whom he sent against the advanced guard of Jourdan, overthrew it, cut off the communication between the two armies, and crushed that of the Sambre and Meuse, compelling it to fall back, in the greatest disorder, on the point from whence it had set out. He then directed his entire forces against Moreau; who, master of Ulm and encamped at the gates of Munich, covered an immense ground, and reckoned on the army of Jourdan to maintain himself there. Deprived of this succour, he commanded, and executed, an admirable retreat, traversing more than one hundred leagues of country, in presence of a formidable enemy, and in the midst of a hostile population,—and re-entered Friburg, without having suffered his line of march to be once broken.

Bonaparte, however, continued to triumph over all obstacles, and approached Mantua. He blockaded that place, and entered the territory of the city of Venice, which was ruined by its neutrality. Old Wurmser raised the blockade of Mantua; Bonaparte triumphed in the celebrated battles of Castiglione and Lonato; but a skilful march brought

Wurmser with thirty thousand men into Mantua. Bonaparte turned the place, blockaded it anew, and gained the brilliant victory of Arcola, where he performed prodigies of valour, and exposed himself to great dangers. It was in this battle, that Napoleon, perceiving the grenadiers hesitate for a moment under the terrible fire of the enemy, which occupied some formidable positions, sprung to the ground, seized a flag and rushed upon the bridge of Arcola, exclaiming: "Soldiers! are you no longer the brave warriors of Lodi?—follow me!" Augereau did the same. These heroic examples did not fail to influence the result of the battle. Alvinzi lost thirty pieces of cannon, five thousand prisoners, and six thousand slain; Davidowich regained the Tyrol, and Wurmser re-entered Mantua.

The victory of Rivoli, (1797,) in which Joubert had a great share, followed closely upon that of Arcola; and the pope, who had at length taken up arms at the instigation of Austria, was compelled to give in his submission. Wurmser, pressed by famine in Mantua, determined upon capitulating, and all Europe rang with the name of the conqueror. From that moment Bonaparte foresaw the great destiny that awaited him, and neglected no means of fortune or fame. In the intervals of his battles, he conversed with savans and poets, extolled the republic, and in all things gave evidence of the future ruler. Affable with his lieutenants and soldiers, to the directors he exhibited a haughty reserve, and

had, at the same time, the art to make his presence at the head of his triumphal army appear to them indispensable. He availed himself of the popular sympathies against governments; and transformed Lombardy into a Cisalpine republic, of which Milan became the capital. Numerous reinforcements having reached him from France, he marched again upon Vienna, having prince Charles in his front. Massena commanded the advanced guard, and immortalized himself by his victories at Tagliamento and elsewhere. Carinthia and Styria were rapidly subdued; terror reigned at Vienna; and Bonaparte awaited the movements of the other armies to penetrate further. Hoche commanded that of the Sambre and Meuse; and Moreau retained that of the Rhine. Their progress was slow; and Joubert, whom Bonaparte had left behind, with three divisions for the defence of the Tyrol, was beaten by prince Charles, and compelled to retreat. Informed of this reverse, Bonaparte sent to Vienna to treat for peace; and an armistice was concluded at Leoben. The French general ceded to Austria Mantua and a portion of Venetian Lombardy which he had conquered, in exchange for the Cisalpine republic which he had founded. The Directory rejected these preliminaries; and Bonaparte suggested Venice to Austria, as an indemnity for Mantua. The fate of that republic was, accordingly decided. The French emissaries, everywhere, excited the people against the senate; but at Verona, a city dependent on Ve-

nice, the French garrison was slaughtered in a popular revolt. Bonaparte, who sought but a pretext to justify an act of spoliation, inveighed furiously against the Venetian republic, and demanded vengeance for the massacre of Verona. Nothing could appease him; and general Baraguay d'Hilliers marched against Venice. Alarmed at his approach, the senate voted a constitution, in the hope of conciliating France, and then dissolved itself. The French entered the city; and, by the definitive treaty of Campo Formio, delivered it to Austria, in exchange for the Belgic and Lombard states. Mantua was added to the Cisalpine republic; as were also the Bolognese and Romagna. The congress of Radstadt was opened, at the same time, to treat of peace with the empire. The release of general La Fayette and his three companions in misfortune was one of the articles of the glorious treaty of Campo Formio. All the combined powers, with the exception of England, had laid down their arms; and France had extended her system in Europe,—a great portion of her frontiers, from the North Sea to the gulf of Genoa, being covered by republican states.

Previously, however, to the signature of this advantageous treaty, the inevitable disagreement between the electoral and executive powers had broken violently out, at the close of the elections for the year 5. Of these elections the greater part had been made under the influence of the reactionary

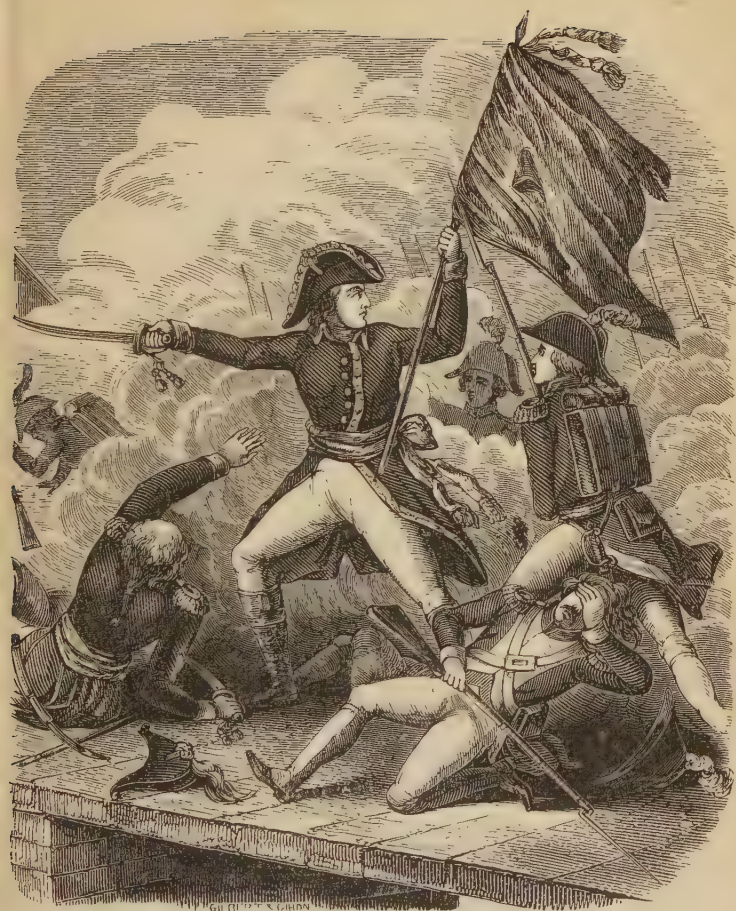
party. Pichegru was enthusiastically chosen to the presidency of the council of *cinq-cents*, and Barbé-Marbois to that of the *anciens*. Le Tourneur had been designated by lot as the retiring member of the Directory for this year; and he was replaced by Barthélemy, ambassador to Switzerland. Scarcely were the councils constituted, ere they entered into conflict with the government. Letters of amnesty, in favour of the proscribed, were precipitately voted. Camille Jordan, the deputy for Lyons, a man of great eloquence and courage, appeared as an ardent panegyrist of the clergy, and demanded the abolition of the civic oath,—which, however, was retained, in spite of his endeavours. The priests and emigrants returned in crowds; all the interests born of the revolution were compromised, and the directors saw themselves powerless for their defence. The constitution not having invested them with the wholesome right of appealing to public opinion, by dissolving the councils, they determined upon breaking them up by forcible means. The constitutionalists of 1791 made common cause with them; and opposed the republican club of *Salm* to the club of *Clichy*, founded by the royalists. The first of these was supported by the army, and the second by the councils. The directors caused several regiments to approach the capital, in contempt of the constitution, which forbade the calling of troops into Paris, or within twelve leagues thereof, without an express law to that effect. The councils broke out into

furious menaces; and, in reply, the Directory produced threatening addresses from each of the armies to the councils. The struggle increased in violence; and vainly did Carnot and Barthélemy endeavour to act as pacificators. The majority of the Directory, composed of Barras, Rewbel, and La Réveillère, were convinced that their own cause, and that of the revolution, could no longer be maintained by legal means;—they were menaced with a violent and illegal attack, and determined to anticipate their enemies. The 18th Fructidor was fixed as the day on which the blow should be struck. During the night, twelve hundred men entered Paris, under the command of Augereau; and by the first dawn of morning, these troops, with forty pieces of cannon, had surrounded the Tuileries. The grenadiers of the legislative guard joined Augereau; who, with his own hand, arrested generals Pichegru and Willot, and the commandant Ramel, in the hall of session. A great number of members of the councils were turned back, or seized by the armed force, as they were entering the Tuileries. The directors appointed the Odéon and the Ecole de Médecine, as the new places of meeting for the councils. They published, at the same time, a letter from Moreau, which disclosed the treason of Pichegru; and, after having given an account of their own conduct, caused a commission to be appointed, for the purpose of preparing a law of public safety. By that law, forty-two members of the coun-



cil of Five Hundred, eleven members of that of the *anciens*, and two directors, Carnot and Barthélemy, were condemned to be transported to Cayenne. Amongst those against whom this violent measure was directed were Pichegru, Boissy-d'Anglas, Camille Jordan, Pastoret, Siméon, Barbé-Marbois, Lafon-Ladebat, Portalis, and Tronçon du Coudray. The directors carried their severities still further, and sacrificed to their resentment the authors of thirty-five journals. They caused the laws in favour of priests and emigrants to be repealed; and annulled the elections for forty-eight departments. The day of the 18th Fructidor ruined the royalist party, revived that of the republicans, taught the army the dangerous secret of its strength in the government of the state, and substituted a dictatorship for the authority of the law. Carnot and Barthélemy were replaced by Merlin de Douai, and François de Neufchâteau. The treaty of Campo Formio, which followed this revolution, had been signed by Bonaparte against the expressed will of the directors; and they could not see, without alarm, a young general, lifted to the highest rank by a single campaign, deciding arbitrarily on the question of war or peace. Public opinion, however, exalted his triumphs; and the directors, not daring to disavow him, endeavoured to assume the appearance of associating themselves with his glory, by granting such honours to him in Paris as had never before been paid to any general. The Directoria!

government, in which Treilhard soon succeeded to François de Neufchâteau, had now attained the highest degree of power. That power reposed entirely upon the army; and this false and dangerous position imposed on the Directors the necessity of keeping the troops beneath their colours, and continuing the war. Barras, in haranguing Bonaparte, had pointed out to him England, as a new conquest for his arms; and a plan of descent upon that coast had been in contemplation. This, however, was speedily abandoned; and an invasion of Egypt determined upon, in defiance of the neutrality observed by the Ottoman Porte. Bonaparte had the command of this adventurous expedition; and the Directory felt reassured at the absence of the man whom it dreaded most,—whilst the course in question was equally agreeable to the youthful conqueror of Italy, by affording a favourable opportunity of extending his renown, and adding to the vast estimate of his talents which France had already conceived. He departed from Toulon, with a fleet of four hundred sail, accompanied by a body of celebrated *savans*, and a portion of the army of Italy. On his way he took possession of the island of Malta, and then made sail for the coast of Egypt. (1798.)



GILBERT & CO. LONDON

THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLA.



## CHAPTER VII.

## ANECDOTES OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.

*The Battle of Lodi.*

THE bridge of Lodi gives name to an action that took place there between the French and the Austrians, in 1797, and which decided the fate of the Italian campaign.

It was an object with Bonaparte, to force the bridge of Lodi, which crosses the Adda at a place where the river is about two hundred yards broad, and the breadth of the bridge is about ten. A battery of cannon commanded the whole length of it by a raking fire, while other batteries, above and below, threatened destruction to any force that should attempt to cross.

Without losing a moment, though it was late in the evening when he arrived at Lodi, Napoleon ordered the passage to be attempted; and a column of the French, headed by their principal general officers, persevering under a deadly fire, this most singular instance of military enthusiasm and daring was crowned with complete success.

*Napoleon's presence of mind at the Bridge of Lodi.*

At this memorable passage, it was not less the celerity and promptitude of movement, than invincible heroism, that carried the day. The fire of the enemy, who defended the passage with thirty pieces of cannon, was terrible; the head of the charging column of the French appeared to give way; "a moment of hesitation," says Bonaparte, in his official despatch on the occasion, "would have lost all. Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, D'Allemagne, the chief of brigade, Lannes, and the chief of battalion, Dupat, dashed forwards at its head, and determined the fate of the day, still wavering in the balance." Bonaparte does not include his own name in the list of this heroic band, though well known to have been one of the foremost in the charge; the modesty which dictated this concealment, even his revilers must admire. "This redoubtable column," he continues, "overturned all opposed to it; Beaulieu's order of battle was broken; astonishment, flight, and death, were spread on all sides. In the twinkling of an eye, the enemy's army was scattered in confusion."

"Although," he continues, "since the commencement of the campaign we have had some very warm affairs, and although the army has often been under the necessity of acting with great audacity, nothing has occurred which can be compared to the terrible passage of the Bridge of Lodi.



“Our loss has been small: and this we owe to the promptitude of the execution, and to the sudden effect which the charge of this intrepid column produced on the enemy.”

*The Bridge of Arcola.*

The passage of the bridge of Arcola may be esteemed the height of boldness. Thousands of men and musketry served to defend the approach to this particular spot, which was completely fenced by cannon in every direction; thrice had General Bonaparte commanded the charge in person, and thrice had his followers, disdaining to retreat, fallen sacrifices to their temerity; the death-dealing bullets continued their destructive career, levelling all those who dared to encounter their vengeful flight. Napoleon, at length growing indignant, gave utterance to an exclamation of fury, and instantly tearing one of the standards from the grasp of an ensign, sprang upon this bridge, the scene of carnage and slaughter; when, planting the flag in defiance of destiny itself, which seemed to oppose him, he thus addressed his soldiers—

“Frenchmen! Grenadiers! will you, then, abandon your colours!”

This appeal seemed to convey a reproach ill-adapted to the spirit of such courageous men; wherefore, before the General was enabled to repeat them, all thought of danger had vanished,

death was faced in every direction, the bridge of Arcola was forced, and victory once more crowned the republican standard.

### *The Pioneer.*

In delivering his orders, the General, with that presence of mind which is uniformly the precursor of victory, presented himself in person at every point where danger appeared to threaten the most, and thus exposed himself like the common soldier.

Upon one of these occasions a pioneer, perceiving the imminent risk Napoleon ran, thus addressed him in the unsophisticated language of a camp—"Stand aside!"—General Bonaparte, fixing his eyes upon him, hesitated, when the veteran, rudely pushing him, addressed Napoleon in these words, which were expressive of the greatest compliment that could possibly be paid to his talents as a military commander:

"If thou art killed, who is to rescue us from this jeopardy?"

Bonaparte instantly appreciated the sterling value of this exclamation, and consequently remained silent; but, after the termination of the conflict, which proved favourable to the republican flag, he ordered this independent pioneer to be brought into his presence, when, familiarly tapping him upon the shoulder, he thus addressed him:

"Thy noble boldness claims my esteem; thy

bravery demands a recompense; from this hour, instead of the hatchet, an epaulette shall grace thy shoulder."

He was, of course, immediately raised to the rank of an officer.

*Milan.*

On the evening of the day previous to the taking of the city of Milan, General Bonaparte, being then commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, was engaged to dine at the mansion of a lady of consequence. This personage, considering the distinguished rank, and above all, the illustrious name of her guest, conducted the honours of her table with the greatest attention and politeness. Napoleon, however, being fully occupied with the momentous events that were to characterize the succeeding day, replied with coldness and brevity to the repeated marks of deference which the hostess pointedly expressed towards him; who, at length, in order to give animation to the company, requested to know Bonaparte's age, adding, by way of palliation of the apparent rudeness of the inquiry:

"That he appeared by far too young to have already gained so many laurels!"

"Truly, madam," answered the General with a smile, "I am not indeed very old at the present moment; but in less than twenty-four hours I shall

count much more, for to-day I have to number twenty-five years, whereas to-morrow I shall have attained Mil-an" (mille-ans), a thousand years.

### *The Sleeping Sentinel.*

The army of Italy, under General Bonaparte, having been engaged against the Austrians during a whole day, at length terminated the battle, by gaining a complete victory, at the very moment when the declining sun threw a parting gleam upon the western horizon. During the period of this conflict, and the two foregoing days, the troops had not tasted repose, and the complete flight of the enemy, at this particular juncture, was therefore the more fortunate, as the French were thus enabled to enjoy that repose during the night, of which they most gladly took the advantage.

Notwithstanding this harassed state of the army, it was necessary to establish outposts; when a grenadier, stationed upon this service, which precluded the idea of rest, being quite exhausted with fatigue, fell fast asleep at his post.

Napoleon, who offered up his own repose as a sacrifice to the more imperious calls of promptitude and glory, proceeded, alone, to visit the outskirts of the camp, and in this survey arrived at the spot where lay extended the sleeping sentinel, who could hardly be deemed guilty of a breach of duty, but

the unwilling victim of extreme fatigue, that totally overpowered him.

Bonaparte, unmindful of his dignity, and actuated only by noble motives, took up the soldier's musket, which lay beside him; when, placing it upon his own shoulder, he continued to mount guard for nearly an hour, in order to insure the safety of the camp. The grenadier at length awoke, and sought for his piece in vain, but, by the light of the moon, perceived the general, who had thus paid respect to his repose.

"Oh! I am undone!" vociferated the soldier, recognising Napoleon, whose lineaments were graven upon the heart of every soldier.

"No, my friend," replied the general, with extreme affability, at the same time surrendering up his musket, "the battle was obstinate and long enough contested to excuse your having thus yielded to the impulse of fatigue; one moment of inattention, however, might endanger the safety of the camp; I was awake, and have only to advise, that you would be more upon your guard for the future!"

### *Le Petit Caporal.*

A singular custom was established in the army of Italy, in consequence of the youth of the commander, or from some other cause. After each battle, the oldest soldiers used to hold a council,

and confer a new rank on their young general, who, when he made his appearance in the camp, was received by the veterans, and saluted with his new title. They made him a corporal at Lodi, and a serjeant at Castiglione; and hence the surname of "Petit Caporal," which was for a long time applied to Napoleon by the soldiers. How subtle is the chain which unites the most trivial circumstances to the most important events! Perhaps this very nickname contributed to his miraculous success on his return in 1815. While he was haranguing the first battalion, which he found it necessary to address, a voice from the ranks exclaimed, "Vive notre petit Caporal! we will never fight against him!"





## CHAPTER VIII.

## CONQUEST OF EGYPT.



**MERGING** from the harbour of Toulon, the fleet directed its course towards Malta.

After an agreeable passage of twenty days, the French fleet appeared on the 10th of June before Malta, which surrendered without resistance. After visiting the fortifications, Cafarelli observed to Bonaparte,—“My faith, general, we are very fortunate to have found some one in the town to open the gates for us.” Napoleon has, however, denied at St. Helena that he owed this conquest to any private aid. “It was in Mantua,” said he, “that I took Malta; the generous treatment shown towards Wurmser, procured me the submission of the grand master and the knights.” M. de Bourrienne affirms on the contrary, that the knights were betrayed.

Be that as it may, Bonaparte stayed but a few days at Malta. The fleet sailed towards Candia, of which it came in sight on the 23d of June; and it was in consequence of its taking this direction that Nelson was deceived, and prevented from

meeting the French expedition before Alexandria, as he had calculated upon doing. It was very fortunate for the French army, for Brueys declared, that with ten ships only, the English admiral would have had every chance of success. "It was the will of God," he often said with a profound sigh, "that we should pass without meeting the English!"

The fleet arrived on the 1st of July before Alexandria. Nelson had been there two days before, and surprised at not meeting the French expedition, imagined it had made for the coast of Syria, in order to disembark at Alexandretta. Bonaparte, informed of his appearance, and foreseeing his speedy return, resolved immediately to effect the landing of his army. Admiral Brueys raised objections to this, and opposed it strongly; but Bonaparte insisted upon it. "Admiral," said he to Brueys, who asked for a delay of twelve hours only, "we have no time to lose. Fortune gives me but three days; if we do not profit by it, we are lost."

The admiral was forced to yield, happily for his fleet; for Nelson, not having found them in the straits where he sought them, delayed not an instant in returning to Alexandria. But it was too late; the promptitude of Bonaparte had saved the French army, the whole of which had been landed. The disembarkation took place at one o'clock on the morning of the 2d of July, at Marabout, three leagues from Alexandria. They marched immediately upon this town, and scaled the ramparts.





G. B. B. & G. H. D. N.

BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS.

Kleber, who commanded the attack, was wounded in the head. This conquest was achieved with little effort, and was not followed with any excess; there was neither pillage nor murder in Alexandria.

Bonaparte leaving Kleber in command of Alexandria, quitted that place on the 7th of July, taking the road to Dumanhour, across the desert, where hunger, thirst, and an overpowering heat, caused the army to endure unheard-of sufferings, under which many of the soldiers perished. He continued his march towards Cairo, and in four days he had beaten the Mamelukes at Rahmaniah and destroyed the flotilla and cavalry of the Beys at Chebreisse. In this last action, the General-in-chief marshalled his army into square battalions, against the enemy's cavalry, which was quite disconcerted, despite the boldness of its attacks, and the impetuosity of its courage. At the commencement of this affair, Perée, attacked by a superior force, changed a perilous position into the most brilliant success. The *savans*, Monge and Berthollet, rendered essential service, by fighting the enemy in person.

At the moment of giving battle to Murad Bey at the foot of the Pyramids, Bonaparte, pointing to these ancient and gigantic monuments, exclaimed: "Soldiers, you are about to fight the rulers of Egypt; reflect that from these monuments you are contemplated by forty centuries."

This battle, fought July 21st, 1798, received the name of Embabeh, from the village near which it

was fought. The Mamelukes were overcome after an obstinate contest, which lasted nineteen hours.

Bonaparte entered the capital of Egypt on the 24th of July.

Terrified by his late defeat, Murad Bey fled into Upper Egypt, where he was pursued by Desaix. Napoleon, in the meantime, occupied himself at Cairo, in forming a regular administration for the Egyptian provinces. But Ibrahim Bey, who had arrived in Syria, obliged the conquering legislator to quit his pacific labours and return to the fight. Bonaparte encountered and beat him at Salcheyh. The brave Sulkowsky was wounded in this affair.

The joy of the new triumph was soon disturbed by the most deplorable news. Kleber announced to Bonaparte, by a despatch, that Nelson had destroyed the French fleet at Aboukir, after a desperate struggle. As soon as the knowledge of this catastrophe was spread in the army, great discontent and consternation prevailed. The soldiers and generals who had been disgusted and uneasy on their first arrival in Egypt, felt more severely than ever their situation, and frequently gave vent to their feelings in loud murmurs. Napoleon, seeing at a glance all the enormity of this disaster, appeared at first overwhelmed by it, and when told that the Directory would doubtless hasten to repair the misfortune, he hastily exclaimed: "Your Directory! they are a mass of—, they envy and hate me; and will leave me here to perish. Do you not see all



those figures?" he added, pointing to his staff-officers, "how long will they remain by me?"

But his great soul was not to be cast down, and arousing himself, he exclaimed with an heroic resignation, "If it must be so, then, we *will* remain here, or, like the ancients, we will leave it as heroes."

From this time Bonaparte occupied himself with indefatigable ardour and activity in the civil organization of Egypt. He felt more than ever the necessity of conciliating the inhabitants of the country, and of forming lasting establishments. One of his first and principal creations, was an Institute on the plan of that of Paris. He divided it into four classes:—mathematics, physic, political economy, literature, and the fine arts. Monge was appointed president, and Bonaparte conferred on himself the title of vice-president. The installation of this body took place with great solemnity. It was there that the immortal warrior confirmed his promise to the head of the Institute of France, not to be proud of any conquests but those he obtained over ignorance; and until the progress of his arms was identified with the progress of enlightenment.

Bonaparte, already popular among the Mussulmans, who called him the sultan Kebir (the father of fire), was admitted and invited by them to all their festivals.

It was thus that he assisted, but without presiding, as was believed, at those of the overflowing of the Nile, and the anniversary of the birth of Mahomet.

The respect which he showed for the religion of the Prophet on all occasions, contributed not a little in making his name and authority respected by the Egyptians. Some have affected to discover a sort of sympathy for Islamism in his conduct, which displayed nothing more than the skilful politician. Bonaparte was neither Mussulman nor Christian; himself and his army represented in Egypt the French philosophy, the tolerating scepticism, and the religious indifference of the eighteenth century. But in the absence of positive religion in his mind, he nourished a vague religion in his soul.

The sheicks, in gratitude for the part which Bonaparte had taken at their festivals, joined at least in appearance in the rejoicings of the French army; they made the grand mosque resound with songs of gladness; they prayed to the great Allah, "to bless the favourite of Victory, and to let the brave army of the West prosper."

In the midst of these amicable demonstrations, the chiefs of the Mamelukes, in alliance with England, Ibrahim and Murad-Bey, fomented an insurrection, which was not slow in breaking out even in the capital of Egypt. Bonaparte was then at Old Cairo; as soon as he was informed of what was passing, he hastened to return to his headquarters. The streets of Cairo were quickly cleared by the French troops, who compelled the rebels to take refuge in the grand mosque, where they were soon fired upon by the artillery. They had refused

to capitulate, but the thunder of the cannon taking effect on their superstitious imaginations, rendered them more tractable. Napoleon, however, refused their tardy propositions. "The time for mercy is gone by," said he, "you have begun, it is for me to finish." The doors of the mosque were immediately forced, and the blood of the Turks flowed in abundance. Bonaparte had to avenge, among others, the death of General Dupois, governor of the place, and that of the brave Sulkowsky, for whom he had entertained great regard. This revolt took place October 21st, 1798.

British influence, which had instigated the sedition of Cairo, and the insurrection throughout Egypt, succeeded also in rousing the divan of Constantinople to acts of hostility against France. A manifesto of the Grand Seignior, filled with imprecations and invectives, devoted the flag of the republic to ignominy, and its soldiers to extermination. Bonaparte replied to these outrages and provocations by a proclamation, which terminated thus:—"The most religious of the Prophets has said, 'Sedition has fallen asleep, cursed be he that shall awaken it!'"

He went shortly after to Suez to visit the traces of the ancient canal which connected the waters of the Nile with the Red Sea. Monge and Berthollet accompanied him;—wishing to visit the sources of the Moise, he nearly became a victim to his curiosity by losing his way in the dark, just as the tide was coming in; "I ran the danger of

perishing like Pharaoh," said he, "which would not have failed to have furnished all the preachers of Christianity with a magnificent text against me!"

The monks of Mount Sinai, knowing that he was in their neighbourhood, sent him a deputation requesting he would write his name upon their register, as was done by Ali, Saladin, Ibrahim, &c. Napoleon did not refuse them a favour which flattered his vanity, and his passion for celebrity.

However, Djézzar Pacha had taken possession of the fort of El-Arish, in Syria. Napoleon, who had meditated for some time a campaign in that province, resolved immediately to execute his design. The news of the success of Djézzar had reached him at Suez; and he hastened his return to Cairo, to take troops necessary for the expedition, and after having assured the tranquillity and submission of that capital, by the nocturnal sacrifice of the chiefs of the people, who had figured in the late revolt, he quitted Egypt, and proceeded to Asia. The desert was now before him: he crossed it mounted upon a dromedary, which he found resisted the heat and fatigue far better than his horses. The vanguard having strayed, he did not meet with them until they were giving themselves up to despair, and sinking with fatigue or dying with thirst. Bonaparte announced supplies of water and food to the unfortunate soldiers. "But if all that has been delayed, had been delayed longer," said he to them, "would that have been a reason for murmuring, or

failing in courage? No, soldiers, learn to die with honour."

Bonaparte arrived before El-Arish in the middle of February. This fort capitulated on the 16th, after a complete rout of the Mamelukes; and, six days after, Gaza opened her gates. When near Jerusalem, Bonaparte, on being asked if he did not wish to pass by that town, replied quickly; "Oh! no! Jerusalem is not in my line of operations; I do not wish to have anything to do with the mountaineers in difficult passages; and on the other hand I should be assailed by a numerous cavalry. I am not ambitious of the fate of Cassius." On the 6th of March, Jaffa was carried by assault, and abandoned to pillage and massacre. Bonaparte sent his aides-de-camp, Beauharnais and Croisier, to appease the fury of the soldiers. They arrived in time to save the lives of four thousand Arnauts, or Albanians, who formed part of the garrison, and who had escaped the carnage by taking refuge in the vast caravansaries. When the general-in-chief saw the number of prisoners, he exclaimed: "What am I to do with them? have I provisions to feed them, or ships to send them to France or Egypt? what is to become of them?" The aides-de-camp excused themselves on account of the danger they would have incurred by refusing to capitulate, and likewise reminding Bonaparte of the humane mission which he had confided to them. "Yes, undoubtedly," he replied, "for women, children, and

old men, but not for armed soldiers; you should have killed these \*unfortunates, and not brought them to me. What would you have me do with them?" He deliberated for three days on the lot of these ill-fated people, in hope that the sea might bring him some vessels to get rid of his prisoners, without compelling him to shed more blood. But the murmurs of the army did not permit him to delay any longer a measure, which inspired him with the greatest repugnance. The order for shooting the Arnauts and Albanians was given on the 10th of March.

The French army had brought into Syria the germ of the plague; it developed itself at the siege of Jaffa, and became every day more ravaging. Bonaparte said of the adjutant-general Grésieux, who would not touch any one, in order to guard himself from the contagion: "If he is afraid of the plague, he will die of it." His prediction was accomplished at the siege of Acre.

It was on the 16th of March that Bonaparte arrived before that place, where he met with a more vigorous resistance than he had expected.

During the siege of Acre, the celebrated battle of Mount Tabor was gained, where Kleber, attacked and surrounded by twelve thousand horsemen, and as many foot, made the most heroic resistance with three thousand foot soldiers. Bonaparte, informed of the strength of the enemy, set off with a division to support Kleber. Arrived at the field of battle,



he disposed his division in two squares, so as to form an equilateral triangle with the square of Kleber, thus placing the enemy between them. The terrible fire which then proceeded from the extremities of this triangle, made the Mamelukes fall back upon themselves, and dispersed them in all directions, leaving the plain covered with dead bodies. This army, which the inhabitants said was as numerous as the stars of the firmament, and the sands of the sea-shore, was destroyed by six thousand French.

After a siege of two months, Napoleon, seeing his little army enfeebled every day by the ravages of the plague, and by the frequent encounters which they were obliged to sustain against an intrepid garrison, commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, decided upon returning to Egypt. All his vast projects with respect to the East, which had carried his ambitious imagination, sometimes to the Indus, sometimes to the Bosphorus, abandoned him in this moment; it was this which caused him afterwards to say that, "If Acre had fallen, it would have changed the face of the globe:—the fate of the East depended on this little paltry town."

At Jaffa, where they arrived on the 24th, the hospitals were filled with sick; and fever raged with the greatest fury. The general-in-chief visited these unfortunate men; he deeply compassionated their sufferings, and appeared greatly affected by so melancholy a spectacle. The order was given

for them to be moved ; but of these so many were sick of the plague, according to M. de Bourrienne, upwards of sixty, and among them seven or eight so severely afflicted, says the Memorial of St. Helena, that they could not live above four-and-twenty hours. What was to be done with these expiring soldiers ? Bonaparte hesitated ; but was told that many of them requested instant death ; that their contact might be fatal to the army, and that it would be, at the same time, an act of prudence and charity to hasten their death by a few hours. It is almost certain that a soporific potion was administered to them.

On approaching Cairo, Bonaparte took care to order that a triumphal reception should be prepared for him in this capital, in order to destroy any disheartening impression the issue of the expedition into Syria might create. At Cairo, he learned, by the journals, the events of the 30th Prairial, and the disturbed situation of the republic. Anarchy reigned at home ; a second forced loan had excited the indignation of the middling classes ; whilst the odious law of hostages, which rendered the relatives of emigrants responsible for the outrages committed by the Chouans, once more armed the royalists of the west and south against the Directory. Italy, with the exception of Genoa, was lost. Joubert had been killed at the bloody battle of Novi, gained by Suwarrow ; and the allies were advancing on the French frontiers, through Holland and Switzerland,—where they were arrested by Brune and

Massena. Informed of this condition of things, Bonaparte determined to overthrow the Directorial government,—and to repair, at once, to France,—whither he was preceded by the intelligence of a new and brilliant victory. Eighteen thousand Turks having landed in the bay of Aboukir, Bonaparte, supported by Murat, Lannes, and Bessières, fell upon this army, and annihilated it. Immediately after this victory, he set out, leaving Kleber in command of the army of Egypt; crossed the Mediterranean in the frigate *Le Muiron*;—escaped, as by a miracle, from the English fleet; and landed in the Gulf of Fréjus, on the 9th of October, 1799,—a few days after the celebrated victories of Zurich and Berghen, gained, the first over the Austrians, by Massena, and the second by general Brune, over the duke of York. Bonaparte traversed France as a conqueror, and was received with enthusiasm by the masses of the moderate party, in Paris.



## CHAPTER IX.

## THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE.



ITHERTO, Bonaparte had refrained from attaching himself to any system. Affecting great simplicity, and occupying modest apartments in the Rue Chantereine, he saw himself courted by the heads of each party, and deceived them all. Sièyes dreaded him; but the support of a military chief was essential to the execution of his designs. Bonaparte was in a condition to aid him, and, in the end, Sièyes and he came to an understanding. Their object was to overthrow the constitution; and with this view the generals, with the exception of Bernadotte, were gained over,—as was, also, the garrison of Paris. On the 18th Brumaire, on the demand of Regnier, one of the conspirators, the council of the *anciens* declared, that, in virtue of the right which the constitution gave it, it transferred the legislative body to Saint-Cloud, under the pretext that its deliberations would, there, be more free. Bonaparte was charged with the execution of this measure, and invested with the military command of the division of Paris. He immediately attacked the Directory by speeches

and by proclamations. ‘What,’ said he, ‘have you done with that France, which I left to you so covered with glory? I left with you peace, and I return to find war;—I left victories, and I find but disasters. What have you done with a hundred thousand Frenchmen of my acquaintance—the companions of my fame?—they are dead.’ In this manner, while accusing his adversaries, he contrived to insinuate his own vast importance. On the same day, Sièyes and Roger-Ducos repaired to the Tuilleries, and laid down their authority. Their three colleagues would have resisted, but their own guard refused obedience to them. Barras, losing all hope, sent in his resignation;—Moulins and Gohier were detained prisoners: and the struggle was now to commence between Bonaparte and the council of the *cinq-cents*.

On the 19th Brumaire, the legislative body repaired to Saint-Cloud, accompanied by an imposing armed force. Bonaparte presented himself, first, before the council of the *anciens*; and being summoned to take the constitutional oath, he declared that the constitution was vicious, and the Directory incapable, and appealed to his companions in arms. From thence, he repaired to the council of the *cinq-cents*, which sat in the Orangery, and where the agitation was, already, at its height. His presence raised a violent storm:—‘Outlaw him! Down with the dictator!’ resounded on every side. Accustomed to brave an enemy’s fire rather than the

menaces of a deliberative assembly, Bonaparte grew pale and agitated, and was hurried away by the grenadiers who formed his escort. The tumult continued to rage in the chamber; where Lucien, the brother of Napoleon, presided, and attempted his defence. On all sides, the outlawry of the tyrant was loudly called for; and Lucien, being required to put the question to the vote, quitted the chair, and divested himself of the insignia of the magistracy. Bonaparte had him carried from the hall; and both brothers, mounting on horseback, harangued the soldiers,—one as the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, and the other as president of a factious assembly. The enthusiasm of the troops broke loudly forth; and Bonaparte, addressing them, exclaimed:—‘Soldiers! can I reckon upon you?’—‘Yes! yes!’ resounded on all sides; and Bonaparte immediately ordered the council of *cinq-cents* to be expelled. A troop of grenadiers entered the hall, under the command of Murat,—who said.—‘In the name of general Bonaparte, the legislative body is dissolved. Let all good citizens retire!—Grenadiers, advance!’ The shouts of indignation which arose in answer were drowned in the roll of the drums: the grenadiers advanced, and the deputies fled before them, escaping by the windows, amid cries of *Vive la republique!* Freedom of representation was, on that day, at an end; and of the French republic there now remained nothing but the name.



## CHAPTER X.

## THE CONSULATE.



THE revolution of the 18th Brumaire was followed by almost universal approbation. After so long a series of shocks and lacerations, the nation, exhausted, without credit, and overrun by anarchy, felt the want of some central power, strongly constituted, and wielded by a skilful hand. Every citizen flattered himself that he saw in Bonaparte the man of his own party. The royalists lauded him as a second Monk—the future restorer of the monarchy; the moderate republicans loved him as a hero born of the revolution, and anticipated that, by his means, liberty was about to be established on solid and durable foundations. Men in general were little on their guard against his ambition; license was, at that period, an object of more alarm than despotism; and no suspicion was, as yet, entertained of the extent to which the interests of liberty were about to be made subordinate to those of his own greatness. This illusion, however, was one of short duration.

Those members of the two councils who were



accomplices of Bonaparte, or favourable to the revolution of Brumaire, hastened to establish the new government. Three consuls were appointed, for ten years,—Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Roger-Ducos. At the same time, two legislative commissions were formed, charged with the preparation of the constitution, and the arrangement of a definite order of things. The first acts of the consular government were the abolition of the law of hostages, and that of forced loans. Permission was given to the priests to return to France; and arbitrary and rigorous measures were adopted against fifty-eight extreme republicans. The absolute character of Bonaparte fully disclosed itself in the discussion of the new constitution. Sièyes had prepared a plan,—which Bonaparte rejected, retaining, nevertheless, such portions thereof as were calculated to serve his ambitious and arbitrary views. The great powers of state created by him were—a consulate, which had the executive power, and the initiative of the laws—a tribunate, whose function it was to discuss them—a legislative body commissioned to pass them—and, finally, a senate, specially charged with their conservation.

Bonaparte, as first consul, associated to himself as second and third consuls, Cambacérès, formerly a member of the Plain, in the convention, and Lebrun, anciently the colleague of the chancellor Mapeau. The consuls named, at once, sixty senators, without waiting for lists of parties eligible;

and these senators appointed one hundred tribunes, and three hundred legislators. The constitution of the year 8 was submitted to the acceptance of the people, and obtained more than three millions of suffrages.

In compliance with the general wish, Bonaparte made overtures of peace to England;—which that power refused, inducing Austria to persevere in the struggle; while the emperor of Russia, Paul I., swayed by a chivalrous admiration of Bonaparte, declared himself his champion, and a foe to the English. The first consul directed all the forces of the republic towards the Rhine and the Alps,—Moreau commanding the army of the Rhine, and Bonaparte, himself, that of Italy. Field-marshal Mélas, with a hundred and thirty thousand men, occupied that country, where the French army was, now, reduced to twenty-five thousand men, under the command of Massena. Bonaparte crossed the great St. Bernard, at the head of an army of reserve, forty thousand strong; and, after a brilliant victory, won by his advanced guard, at Montebello, where general Lannes covered himself with glory, Bonaparte gained, on the 14th of June, 1800, the celebrated battle of Marengo, which placed the whole of Italy at his feet,—after a brilliant campaign of only forty days. Peace, however, was not yet attained, as a consequence.

The first consul next directed all his efforts to the suppression of the factions which raged at

home. Several of the partisan chiefs he gained over; and gave employment to many proscribed persons, such as Siméon, Portalis, and Barbé-Marbois. A few of the Vendean leaders, Châtillon, d'Autichamp, Suzannet, and the famous Bernier, the curé of Saint-Lô, had already made their peace, by the treaty of Mont-Luçon: La Prévalaye and Bourmont submitted, Frotté was taken and shot, George Cadoudal capitulated,—and the war in the west was at an end.

But the war was succeeded by conspiracies: and Bonaparte escaped, as by miracle, the explosion of an infernal machine, in the Rue Saint-Nicaise, on 3d Nivôse,—the authors of which were the royalists, though Fouché, the minister of police, in the first instance, attributed the attempt to the democrats. One hundred and thirty of these latter were instantly transported, by a simple decree of the senate; but the real conspirators were afterwards discovered, and special military tribunals created for their trial. The despotism of Bonaparte was conspicuous in these illegal measures: and it was on this occasion that the constitutional party separated itself from him, and commenced its strenuous opposition. At the head of this party were, in the senate, Lanjuinais, Grégoire, Garat, and Cabanis, and, in the tribunate, Isnard, Daunou, Chénier, and Benjamin Constant. All these raised their voices against the arbitrary proscriptions, and the establishment of the special courts.

The victories of Moreau, in Germany, and more particularly that of Hohenlinden, accelerated the conclusion of peace; which was signed, at Lunéville, on the 8th of January, 1801, betwixt France, Austria, and the empire. This treaty guarantied to the republic the possession of Belgium, and of the German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. Separate treaties were concluded with Rome, Naples, Sardinia, Portugal, and Bavaria, as well as with Russia,—which latter power the assassination of Paul I. had caused to fall back upon the English system: and, finally, England herself felt the necessity of momentarily laying down her arms. Pitt, the irreconcilable enemy of the revolution, and head of the English cabinet, was replaced in the ministry by the opposition party; and the treaty of Amiens, signed on the 25th of March, 1802, by England, Spain, and the Batavian republic, completed the pacification of Europe.

Freed from all other foreign cares, Bonaparte attempted the subjection of the island of St. Domingo; which had revolted against its white rulers, and was governed by blacks, with the celebrated Toussaint-Louverture at their head. Forty thousand men, under general Le Clerc, were sent to effect this conquest; but, after some successes in the outset, the troops were decimated by sickness, and St. Domingo irretrievably lost. Egypt had, in the preceding year, been torn from France, by the arms of England.

The government of Bonaparte, however, rendered, at this time, immense services to the state; and the labours which he undertook would, alone, suffice to make his name immortal. The roads, ports, and arsenals of the kingdom attracted his attention, and occupied his care. He ordered immense maritime works at Flushing and Antwerp, re-organized the admirable polytechnic school, founded under the convention, developed the resources of trade, promoted commerce, and declared himself the protector of private interests. A civil code which he propounded at this period, and which appeared in 1804, was a monument of genius, and became the model of legislation throughout Europe. At the same time, the first consul occupied himself as actively with the consolidation of his own power, as with the public prosperity. He fettered the press,—caused the senate to select the most energetic amongst the tribunes of the people, and reduce their number to eighty,—and then proceeded to purify the legislative body, in the same arbitrary manner. Regarding the clergy as an indispensable auxiliary to power, he used every means of gaining them over to his cause, and signed a concordat with Pope Pius VII., which established nine archbishoprics and forty-one bishoprics in France. He founded the order of the legion of honour, and declared himself its head. This creation, however, which invaded the feeling of equality, met with violent opposition, in the public mind, as well as from

all the great bodies of the state, notwithstanding the forcible purification which they had undergone. It was adopted, nevertheless: and, finally, after having obtained the prolongation of his consulship for ten years more, he procured himself, on the 2d of August, 1802, to be appointed consul for life, by the senate, with the assent of the people, whose wishes were taken by means of public registers. Two days afterwards, the constitution of the year 10 was decreed by a simple act of the senate. By this constitution, the people were finally stripped of all remains of power; the electors were for life, and the first consul had the right of adding to their numbers. To the senate was given the power of changing the institutions, suspending the functions of the jury, placing the departments out of the pale of the constitution, quashing the judgments of the tribunals, and dissolving the legislative body and the tribunate. The number of tribunes was reduced to fifty; and the council of state, reconstructed by Bonaparte, received a more vigorous organization, and attributes more extensive.

Such were the results of two years' labours; and each day did the government of the first consul depart more and more from the spirit in which the revolution had been accomplished. But men were so weary of anarchy—there was in the nation so earnest a longing after order and security—the recollections of the reign of terror acted so powerfully on men's minds—that the people, at all times



prompt to fly into extremes, seconded all the first consul's ambitious views, and sacrificed, to the interests of his power, those of the liberty which had been purchased by such rivers of blood.

The peace betwixt Great Britain and France had been little more than a suspension of arms; and fresh differences soon armed those powers, once more, against each other. Bonaparte united to the French territory the island of Elba, and Piedmont, and occupied the states of Parma; whilst England persisted in keeping possession of Malta, and the Cape of Good Hope. On both sides, preparations were made for war; and the peace was definitively broken, in June, 1803. The coasts of the two seas bristled with batteries; England called into action all her naval force, and seven French armies occupied, respectively, Italy and the camps of Bayonne, Saint-Malo, Saint-Omer, Bruges, Boulogne, and Holland.

. A second, and formidable conspiracy was, about the same time, undertaken against the first consul, by some Chouan and royalist chiefs, having at their head Pichegru and George Cadoudal. Moreau, too, suffered himself to be drawn in, and became an accomplice. The conspiracy was discovered in February, 1804. Cadoudal was punished by death, Moreau banished, and Pichegru was found strangled in his prison. To the list of the condemned was added one other great victim:—a squadron of cavalry suddenly carried off the duke d'Enghien, the last scion of the house of Condé, from the castle



of Etteinheim, in the grand duchy of Baden. Bonaparte believed him to be an accomplice of Pichegru, and had, no doubt, resolved to terrify the conspirators by a dreadful example. The young prince, being conducted to Vincennes, was there precipitately tried by a military commission, and shot, by night, in the ditch of the chateau. This crime threw the whole of France into a sort of stupor; and all the glory of the first consul was unable to efface the horror which it everywhere inspired. In vain did Bonaparte, at a later period, disclaim its responsibility; it remains as an eternal stain upon his memory.

The war with Great Britain, and the conspiracy of Pichegru contributed to assist Bonaparte in elevating himself from the consulate to the empire. The senate were induced to address him, praying that he would govern the republic under the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, and with the title of hereditary emperor. Faithful to the cause of liberty, Carnot vainly opposed the wishes of the senate and of his colleagues. The empire was proclaimed on the 2d Floréal, of the year 12. The constitution underwent still further modifications, to adapt it to the new form of government; the sittings of the tribunate became secret, and all unfettered publicity was destroyed. The clergy sang the praises of the chief in whom they discovered a second Cyrus. Pope Pius VII. came to Paris; and, on the 2d of December, 1804, in the cathedral of Notre-Dame,

surrounded by the high dignitaries of the church, and in presence of the high bodies of the state, he consecrated the new dynasty. Napoleon, accompanied by the empress Josephine, required that all the ancient usages of the French monarchy should be revived, in this ceremony. He made his brothers, Joseph and Louis, French princes, and created eighteen marshals of the empire. These were Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellerman, Lefebvre, Pérignon, and Serrurier. Napoleon, then, proceeded to surround himself with all the ordinary array of courts; he appointed dignitaries of the crown, and had his chamberlains and pages. At the same time, however, while he sought to renew around the throne the forms of the old régime, and to suspend the liberties of the people, he, yet, respected the real and substantial conquests of the revolution. These were the division of properties, the depriving the clergy of their civil character, equality in the eye of the law, and admissibility for all into all public offices. These principles are, next after those of morality and the education of the masses, the best foundations upon which a nation can, in our day, build its liberal institutions; and it was out of the maintenance of these that the true liberties of the French people were destined, at a later period, to flow,—when it was no longer possible to impose upon them a positive despotism, in the name of military glory.

## CHAPTER XI.

ANECDOTES OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ITALIAN CAMPAIGNS,—AND OF THE CONSULATE.

### *The Restorer of the City of Lyons.*



N Bonaparte's return from the second campaign of Italy, he passed through Lyons, on the ninth Messidor, the eighth year of the republic. It was his wish to continue incognito, in order to escape the honours and the fêtes intended for him; but all his precautions were of no avail; the report of his being in the city spread itself in all directions, and the populace in crowds appeared in the streets, on the quays, in the promenades, and mounted on the house-tops, crying: "It is Bonaparte! Long live Bonaparte!" these applauses being prolonged until night, with which were mingled the incessant discharges of artillery.

During the nights of the ninth and tenth, a bronze medal was struck in haste and presented to the conqueror of Italy; and on the morning of the last mentioned day, he repaired to the Square of Bellecour, amidst an escort of upwards of fifty

thousand Lyonese. Upon this occasion he laid the first stone, and thus commenced the rebuilding of the city, which had been almost entirely demolished, by order of the comedian, Collot D'Herbois. Previous to the depositing of the stone, he took it in his hand, smiling, and assured the inhabitants of Lyons, that this Square should very soon recover all its former splendour, and that the manufactories of Lyons, which were then reduced to four thousand workmen, should speedily be augmented to twenty-five thousand; after which he deposited the medal, which was enclosed in a leaden case, beneath the foundation of the new structure; the bronze in question bearing this inscription:

To Buonaparte  
The Restorer of Lyons;  
Verninac Prefect.

In the name of the grateful Lyonese.

On the other side appeared, encircled by a coronet of oak,

Twice Victor at Marengo,  
Conqueror of Italy.  
He deposited this Stone  
The 10th Messidor, An. VIII.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, Napoleon repaired to the hotel of the Prefect, where a sumptuous breakfast was prepared. He proved as amia-





THE BATTLE OF MARENGO.

ble at table, as he was terrible in the field ; and it was justly said of this repast : " That here was Alexander feasting with his friends, on the day when he founded Alexandria."

### *Battle of Marengo.*

This conflict was undoubtedly that in which Bonaparte displayed the most brilliant proofs of military capacity ; for on that momentous day, he manifested the consummate tactics of a great commander ; neither was there any deficiency of those traits of heroism which history always loves to record, and which must descend to the remotest posterity. It was during this battle, which might be justly termed the modern Pharsalia, that Napoleon preserved, amidst the tumultuous din of arms, and an army almost completely routed, that coolness and certain dependence upon self, which were the fruit of long military experience, and the characteristic of the truly brave.

As soon as the divisions of Lemonier and Desaix had arrived, Bonaparte repaired to range them in order for battle ; but, as the enemy's forces were greatly superior in number to those of the French, the latter began to give way, and retreat, which, being perceived by Napoleon, he galloped to the front of the ranks, exclaiming :—" Frenchmen ! remember my custom is to sleep upon the field of battle."



Berthier on arriving to acquaint him that his army began to be put to the route, he made this answer: "You do not announce that, general, in cold blood!"

During the hottest period of the action, news was brought to Bonaparte that Desaix was killed, when he only uttered these words: "Why is it not permitted me to weep?" The deceased was among those generals whom he held in the highest estimation.

After the battle, Bonaparte, happening to meet a great number of the wounded, made the following remark in tones of the deepest affliction: "We cannot but regret not being wounded like them, in order to participate in their sufferings."

*Napoleon wounded in Italy and other places.*

It has been said that Bonaparte has never been wounded. This is not the fact, for Mr. O'Meara says:—

Napoleon showed me the marks of two wounds; one a very deep cicatrice above the left knee, which he said he had received in his first campaign of Italy, and was of so serious a nature, that the surgeons were in doubt whether it might not be ultimately necessary to amputate. He observed, that when he was wounded, it was always kept a secret, in order not to discourage the soldiers. The other was on the toe, and had been received at Echmühl

"At the siege of Acre," continued he, "a shell thrown by Sidney Smith, fell at my feet. Two soldiers, who were close by, seized and closely embraced me, one in front, and one on the other side, and made a rampart of their bodies for me, against the effect of the shell, which exploded, and overwhelmed us with sand. We sunk into the hole formed by its bursting; one of them was wounded. I made them both officers. One has since lost a leg at Moscow, and commanded at Vincennes when I left Paris. When he was summoned by the Russians, he replied, that as soon as they sent him back the leg he had lost at Moscow, he would surrender the fortress. Many times in my life," continued he, "have I been saved by soldiers and officers throwing themselves before me when I was in the most imminent danger. At Arcola, when I was advancing, Colonel Meuron, my aid-de-camp, threw himself before me, covered me with his body, and received the wound which was destined for me. He fell at my feet, and his blood spouted up in my face. He gave his life to preserve mine. Never, yet, I believe, has there been such devotion shown by soldiers as mine have manifested for me. In all my misfortunes never has the soldier, even when expiring, been wanting to me—never has man been served more faithfully by his troops. With the last drop of blood gushing out of their veins, they exclaimed 'Vive l'Empereur!'"

*His Generosity to the Veteran General Wurmser.*

For several days after the decisive actions, which left him without a shadow of hope of relief, Wurmser continued the defence of Mantua in a sullen yet honourable despair, natural to the feelings of a gallant veteran, who, to the last, hesitated between the desire to resist, and the sense that resistance was absolutely hopeless. At length he sent his aid-de-camp, Klenau, to the headquarters of Serrurier, who commanded the blockade, to treat of a surrender. Klenau used the customary language on such occasions. He expatiated on the means which Mantua still possessed of holding out, but said, that, as Wurmser doubted whether the place could be relieved in time, he would regulate his conduct as to immediate submission, or farther defence, according to the conditions of surrender to which the French general was willing to admit him. A French officer of distinction was present, muffled in his cloak, and remaining apart from the two officers, but within hearing of what had passed. When their discussion was finished, this unknown person stepped forward, and, taking a pen, wrote down the conditions of surrender to which Wurmser was to be admitted—conditions more honourable and favourable by far than what his extremity could have exacted. “These,” said the unknown officer to Klenau, “are the terms which Wurmser

may accept at present, and which will be equally tendered to him at any period when he finds farther resistance impossible. We are aware he is too much a man of honour to give up the fortress and city, so long and honourably defended, while the means of resistance remained in his power. If he delay accepting the conditions for a week, or a month; or two months, they shall be equally his when he chooses to accept them. To-morrow I pass the Po, and march upon Rome." Klenau, perceiving that he spoke to the French commander-in-chief, frankly admitted that the garrison could not longer delay surrender, having scarce three days' provisions unconsumed. This trait of generosity towards a gallant but unfortunate enemy, was highly honourable to Napoleon. But the young victor paid a still more delicate and noble-minded compliment, in declining to be personally present when the veteran Wurmser had the mortification to surrender his sword, with his garrison of twenty-thousand men. Such self-denial did Napoleon as much credit nearly as his victory. His conduct towards Wurmser may be justly compared to that of the Black Prince to his royal prisoner, King John of France.

*Mount St. Bernard.*

The campaigns of Italy, under the Directory and Consulate, were well worth all the imperial battles

fought in the days of France's splendid degradation. The pass of Mount St. Bernard stands unrivalled in modern military history. The cannons were dragged up the heights by sheer strength of arm, by efforts almost superhuman. Pecuniary motives for exertion, proffered by the general, were rejected by the army. The soldiers, one by one, climbed through the crevices of the ice-rock, and in five hours they reached the convent of St. Peter. The descent was yet more perilous. The infantry cut short the difficulty by sliding on their backs down the ice. "The first consul followed their example, and, in the sight of his army, slid down a height of two hundred feet!"

Bonaparte, before his departure for this campaign, traced a slight sketch of his intended operations at a private house. In this plan, Millissimo is marked, in the confidence of success, as being the first site of the defeat of the enemy. "I shall drive," he says, "the Austrians from the passage of the Tyrol;" and he finishes the sketch with these words: "It is at the gates of Vienna, that I shall give you peace." Speaking afterwards of his treaty of Millissimo, he said, "this was the strongest sensation of my life."

### *His Employment of Time.*

During the voyage to Egypt, Bonaparte was continually employed. His remarkable sayings to the

pupils of a school which he had one day visited, "Young people, every hour of time lost, is a chance of misfortune for future life," may be considered as, in some measure, forming the rule of his own conduct. Perhaps no man ever better understood the value of time: his very leisure was business. If the activity of his mind found not wherewithal to exercise itself in reality, he supplied the defect, by giving free scope to his imagination, or in listening to the conversation of the learned men attached to the expedition; for he, probably, was the only man in the fleet who never experienced ennui for a single moment.

### *A Man Overboard.*

In a long voyage, it is impossible (says Bourrienne) to prevent accidents from men falling overboard. This occurrence happened several times with us, from the crowded state of our vessel. On these occasions, it was strange to witness the instinctive force of humanity in the bosom of one so lavish of the blood of his fellow-creatures on the field of battle, and who was about to shed torrents of it in the very Egypt whither we were going. Whenever a man fell into the water, the commander-in-chief had no rest till he was saved. He instantly ordered the ship to lay-to, showed the most lively uneasiness till the unfortunate was recovered, and ordered me to recompense liberally those most

active in the rescue. Sailors who had thus distinguished themselves, when guilty of some breach of discipline, were always exempted from punishment. I remember, during one dark night, a noise was heard, as of a man overboard. Bonaparte instantly gave the word to put the ship about till the supposed victim should be rescued from inevitable death. The crew hastened from all quarters, exertions were redoubled, and at length we fished up—what? The victim was—a quarter of beef, which had slipped from a noose over the side. How did Bonaparte act? He ordered me to reward the sailors, who had exposed themselves on this occasion, more liberally than usual: “It might have been a man; and these brave fellows have shown neither less zeal nor less courage.”

*His Proclamation before landing in Egypt.*

“Soldiers!—You are about to undertake a conquest, the effects of which upon the civilization and commerce of the world are incalculable. You will strike a blow, the surest and most vital which England can receive, until you give her her death-stroke. We shall have to make some fatiguing marches; to engage in a few combats; but success will crown our exertions. The destinies are favourable. The Mamelukes—retainers of England, tyrants of all the unfortunate country—soon after our landing shall have ceased to exist.



The people with whom we are about to be connected are Mahometans. The first article of their faith is this:—"There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet." Do not gainsay them; live with them as you have done with the Jews—with the Italians; pay the same deference to their muftis and their imaums, as you have paid to the rabbins and the bishops; show to the ceremonies prescribed by the Koran, and to the mosques, the same tolerance as you have shown to the convents and the synagogues—to the religion of Moses and of Jesus Christ. The Roman legions protect all religions. You will find here usages different from those of Europe: it is proper that you habituate yourselves to them.

The inhabitants treat their women differently from us; but, in every country, he who violates is a monster. Pillage enriches only a few; it dishonours us, destroys our resources, and renders enemies those whom our interest requires to be friends. The first city we approach was built by Alexander; every step will awaken sublime recollections, worthy of exciting the emulation of Frenchmen."

To this proclamation was appended an order of the day, consisting of twelve articles, prohibiting pillage, as also every species of violence, and containing directions for collecting imposts and contributions. The punishments denounced upon delinquents were—repairing the damages inflicted, two

years in irons, and death. Here I may be permitted a reflection. Passages in this proclamation have been severely animadverted upon as contrary to the doctrines of Christianity. But how absurd, to have entered Egypt with the cross in one hand, and the sword in the other ! Policy and common sense required us to respect the religion of the inhabitants. Both this and other proclamations produced an excellent effect.

*Disembarkation of the French Troops in Egypt.*

On the arrival of the French fleet on the Egyptian coasts, Napoleon wished the troops to be landed immediately ; but admiral Bruyés would not consent, being afraid of the sea, then agitated by a strong west wind ; but the general felt the value of the moments which passed. He saw the expedition exposed on the coast, and Alexandria in arms, preparing for a defence ; and he wished positively to land in spite of the violence of the waves.

The fleet accordingly anchored : and during the evening and part of the night, the disembarkation took place, a few leagues from Alexandria, near a place called the tower of Marabout.

When Napoleon wished to execute the disembarkation without loss of time, he said to admiral Bruyés, the moment he quitted the Orient : “ We must exert ourselves to open the port of Alexandria for you, with the least possible delay ; and if it be

not in a condition to receive the fleet, we must place you in safety elsewhere. You have conducted us successfully ; your task is over, but ours only commences."—"What !" rejoined the brave Bruyès, "do you take us for common carriers, and our ships for baggage-wagons ?"

*Napoleon's Alarm on his arrival at Alexandria.*

On the arrival of the French expedition in the port of Alexandria, the resident consul was immediately sent for. To the great astonishment of his countrymen, he informed them that the English fleet had made its appearance the preceding day before the port, had demanded information with respect to the French fleet, and had then continued its course towards Alexandretta. At that very moment the signal for vessels of war was made, and the order of battle was given ; a firm belief being entertained that the English fleet was at hand.

Napoleon at this instant gave expression to the uneasiness which he felt. "Fortune," he exclaimed, "why hast thou favoured us so long to abandon us now, when former success only adds to the poignancy of our misfortune ? In a few moments Alexandria would have been ours, and the whole of the transports would have been safe !"

Happily for him, the signals were false ; the vessels turned out to be the French frigates, which had fallen behind, and not the English fleet.

*Gaiety of the French Soldiery.*

Nothing could exceed the gaiety of the French soldiery: if they saw a young conscript sad and dejected, he would soon be laughed and bantered out of his sadness. Denon relates, that when the French army, under Bonaparte, arrived off the coast of Egypt, and saw it stretching along the horizon, a perfect desert—not a tree, nor a plant, nor any sign of a human habitation to be discovered as far as the eye could reach either way—far from being dispirited at this dreary prospect, one of the soldiers drew a comrade to the side of the vessel, and pointing to it, said, “Look ye! there are the six acres which have been decreed thee!” alluding to a promise of a grant of land to each soldier, on the expiration of his service in the army.

In one of Bonaparte’s despatches, he thus emphatically expresses himself upon the subject: “They play and they laugh with death; they have now become completely accustomed to the enemy’s cavalry, which they hold in derision; nothing can equal their intrepidity, unless it be the gaiety testified during their forced and harassing marches; for they sing by turns in honour of their country and their mistresses. When arrived at the bivouac, you would think, at least, that they would repose. Such, however, is not the case; each tells his

story, or forms his plan of operations for the morrow; and it is frequently ascertained that many of them have made a just calculation."

*Turkish Humanity towards the French Army in Egypt.*

When Bonaparte sailed with his army for Egypt, a number of the most eminent of the French literati accompanied him, in order to make research into the antiquities, manners, customs, and literature of that famous country. These labours they executed with the most astonishing assiduity, even amidst all the dangers of war. But the Institute had remained at Cairo only a month, when their house was pillaged, in a general insurrection of the inhabitants; firing was heard in different places, and many persons belonging to the Commission of Arts fell a sacrifice to the fury of the populace. After considerable slaughter, however, it was quelled the second day, by means of some heavy artillery. "Though the populace," says Denon, "the devotees, and some of the great people of Cairo showed themselves fanatical and cruel in this revolt, the middle class (which is in all countries the most accessible to reason and virtue) was perfectly humane and generous to us, notwithstanding the wide difference of manners, religion, and language;—whilst from the galleries of the minarets murder was devoutly preached up—whilst the streets were

filled with death and carnage, all those in whose houses any Frenchmen were lodged, were eager to save them by concealment, and to supply and anticipate all their wants. An elderly woman, in the quarter in which we lodged, gave us to understand, that, as our wall was but weak, if we were attacked, we had only to throw it down, and seek for shelter in her harem: a neighbour, without being asked, sent us provisions at the expense of his own store, when no food was to be purchased in the town, and every thing announced approaching famine; he even removed every thing from before our house which could render it conspicuous to the enemy, and went to smoke at our door, as if it were his own, in order to deceive any who might attack us. Two young persons, who were pursued in the streets, were snatched up by some unknown people, and carried into a house, and, whilst they were furiously struggling for deliverance, expecting that they were destined for some horrible cruelty, the kind ravishers, not being able otherwise to convince them of the hospitable benevolence of their intentions, delivered up to them their own children, as pledges of their sincerity.

“If the grave Mussulman represses those tokens of sensibility, which other nations would take a pride in exhibiting, it is in order to preserve the dignified austerity of his character.”

*The Siege of Acre.*

This celebrated siege began on the 20th of March, 1799. It was during its progress that the actions of Canaan, Nazareth, Saffet, and Mount Tabor were fought. The latter was the one Kleber admired so much. Bonaparte sat up all night in his tent, with the officers sleeping around him. He sat at table examining maps and measuring distances with a pair of compasses. Every now and then he rose up, went to the opening of the tent, either to breathe the fresh air, or as if to see how the night waned. With the first streak of light he woke the officers, and by ten o'clock he had beaten the Turks, when Kleber arrived just in time to compliment him on his victory.

Towards the end of April the most furious contests took place daily; sorties were made with various success, the besieged sometimes carrying every thing before them, and then being driven back again with great loss and disorder. Dismay and death were scattered around. On the first of May possession was obtained at peep of dawn of the most salient point by twenty French volunteers; and at the same moment the English and French made a sortie, which was briskly repulsed in its turn, and several hundreds killed. On the seventh the town received a reinforcement of fresh troops. At night the French fought their way through the



breach, and had gained a footing in the place, when the troops which had landed appeared in formidable numbers to renew the battle. Rambaud was killed; and a great many fell with him. Lannes was wounded. The besieged then sallied forth by every gate, and took the breach in rear, but they were attacked in turn, and cut off. Every thing appeared so favourable, that on the tenth, at two in the morning, Napoleon ordered a new assault. General Dubois was killed in this skirmish; and on advancing, Djezzar's house and all the avenues were so thronged with defenders, that the soldiers could not pass beyond the breach. There seemed no hope of carrying the place by a "coup-de-main." The French, remote as they were from France and Egypt, could not afford fresh losses: they had already twelve hundred wounded, and the plague was in the hospitals. Accordingly, on the twentieth, the siege was raised. The resistance made was no doubt owing to the spirit and bravery of the gallant English admiral, Sir Sidney Smith. The attack was obstinate and well-directed; and there was a proportionable activity, courage, and readiness of expedient opposed to it. A spirit like Ariel flamed on every part of the walls, and a master-hand was discernible in all the operations. Bonaparte spoke highly of the courage and character of Sir Sidney Smith. He attributed the failure of the attack on Acre to his taking the French battering-train, which was on board some small vessels in the harbour

Bonaparte, until this period, had never experienced any reverses, but had continually proceeded from triumph to triumph, and therefore confidently anticipated the taking of St. Jean d'Acre. In his letters to his generals in Egypt, he fixed the twenty-fifth of April for the accomplishment of that event. He reckoned that the grand assault against the tower could not be made before that day: it took place, however, twenty-four hours sooner. "The slightest circumstances," said he, "produce the greatest events; had St. Jean d'Acre fallen, I should have changed the face of the world. The fate of the East lay in that small town."

### *His Return from Egypt.*

When the news of his arrival reached Marseilles, the event was celebrated with a general illumination, bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy.

But an impulse of a very different nature seized the minds of the magistracy of Toulon. It was known there that the plague had made considerable ravages among the army in Egypt; and when the news circulated that Bonaparte had landed at Fréjus, and proceeded immediately to Paris, without the vessel or any of the crew having been subjected to the usual quarantine, couriers were sent after him, with orders not to stop on the road upon any consideration till they had overtaken him, and to bring him and his companions back, that

they might be put into quarantine. But Bonaparte had got so much the start of them, and pursued his journey with so much alacrity, that he arrived at Paris long before them; and the memorable events which crowded upon each other from the moment of his arrival, soon turned the public attention from all other objects to fix it on them alone.

*His Respect for the Memory of Washington.*

When Napoleon was installed first consul, at the palace of the Tuileries, where every thing still breathed the recollection of its ancient kings,—it was just at that moment he learned the news of the death of Washington. He had died on the 14th of the preceding December, at the age of sixty-eight years, at his seat of Mount Vernon in Virginia, having secured the independence of his country as a general, its liberty as a legislator, and its prosperity as a magistrate. What, says Hazlitt, hindered Bonaparte from following his example? Had the allied troops been removed 3000 miles off, on the other side of the Atlantic, had the French been a colony of English settlers, and in France there had been no palace of her ancient kings, there was nothing to prevent it!

The first consul did not neglect this opportunity of showing his respect to the character of the hero of American liberty; his death was announced to

the consular guard, and to all the troops of the republic in the following order of the day :

“ Washington is dead ! This great man fought against tyranny ; he established the liberty of his country. His memory must always be dear to the French people, as well as to all the free of both worlds, and especially to the French soldiers, who, like him and his American troops, fight in defence of liberty and equality. In consequence, the first consul has ordered, that for the space of ten days, black crape shall be hung on all the colours and standards of the republic.”

*His Conduct in the Revolution of the Eighteenth  
Brumaire, 1799.*

Napoleon was appointed to the military command in Paris, preparatory to dissolving the government ; he immediately summoned his officers to attend him so early as six o'clock next morning. The sittings of the council of Ancients, and the council of Five Hundred, in which Lucien Bonaparte presided, were removed to St. Cloud ; and the members of the latter body assembled before the room was prepared for their reception.

At length the sitting opened. Emilé Gaudin ascended the tribune, painted in lively colours the dangers of the country, and proposed thanks to the council of Ancients, for the measures of public

safety which it had set on foot ; and that it should be invited, by message, to explain its intentions fully. At the same time, he proposed to appoint a committee of seven persons, to make a report upon the state of the republic.

The furious rushing forth of the winds enclosed in the caverns of Eolus never raised a more raging storm. The speaker was violently hurled to the bottom of the tribune. The ferment became excessive.

Delbred desired that the members should swear anew to the constitution of the year 3. Chenier, Lucien, Boulay, trembled. The chamber proceeded to the "Appel Nominal," i. e., a calling over of the names of the deputies, each one giving his vote at the time of answering.

During the Appel Nominal, which lasted more than two hours, reports of what was passing were circulated through the capital. The leaders of the assembly, "du Manège tricoteuses," [or knitters. These were female jacobin clubs, chiefly encouraged by Robespierre: they took their place in the national assemblies to hear the debates, &c.] hastened up. Jourdan and Augereau had kept out of the way ; believing Napoleon lost, they made all haste to St. Cloud. Augereau drew near to Napoleon, and said, "Well ! here you are in a pretty situation !" "Augereau," replied Napoleon, "remember Arcola : matters appeared much more desperate there. Take my advice, remain quiet, if you would

not fall a victim to this confusion. In half an hour you will see what a turn affairs will have taken."

The assembly seemed to declare itself with so much unanimity, that no deputy durst refuse to swear to the constitution—even Lucien himself was compelled to swear. Shouts, and cries of "bravo," were heard throughout the chamber. The moment was critical. All minds were in a state of suspense. Not an instant was to be lost. Napoleon crossed the saloon of Mars, entered the council of Ancients, and placed himself opposite to the president. (At the bar.)

"You stand," said he, "upon a volcano; the Republic no longer possesses a government; the Directory is dissolved; factions are at work; the hour of decision is come. You have called in my arm, and the arms of my comrades, to the support of your wisdom; but the moments are precious; it is necessary to take an ostensible part. I know that Cæsar and Cromwell are talked of—as if this day could be compared with past times. No, I desire nothing but the safety of the republic, and to maintain the resolutions to which you are about to come. And you, grenadiers, whose caps I perceive at the doors of this hall, speak—have I ever deceived you? Did I ever forfeit my word when, in camp, in the midst of privations, I promised you victory and plenty; and when, at your head, I led you from conquest to conquest? Now say, was it for my own aggrandizement, or for the interest of the republic?"

The general spoke with energy. The grenadiers were electrified; and, waving their caps and arms in the air, they all seemed to say, "Yes, true, true! he always kept his word!"

Upon this a member (Linglet) rose, and said, with a loud voice, "General, we applaud what you say; swear, then, with us, obedience to the constitution of the year 3, which alone can preserve the republic."

The astonishment caused by these words produced the most profound silence.

Napoleon recollected himself for a moment, and then went on again emphatically:—"The constitution of the year 3!—you have it no longer—you violated it on the 18th of Fructidor, when the government infringed on the independence of the legislative body; you violated it on the 30th of Prairial, in the year 7, when the legislative body struck at the independence of the government; you violated it on the 22d of Floréal, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and the legislative body invaded the sovereignty of the people, by annulling the elections made by them. The constitution being violated, there must be a new compact, new guarantees."

The force of this speech, and the energy of the general, brought over three-fourths of the members of the council, who rose to indicate their approbation. At this moment, Napoleon was informed that the Appel Nominal was terminated in the council



of Five Hundred, and that they were endeavouring to force the president, Lucien, to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Napoleon immediately hastened to the Five Hundred, entered the chamber with his hat off, and ordered the officers and soldiers who accompanied him to remain at the doors; he was desirous to place himself at the bar, to rally his party, which was numerous, but which had lost all unity and resolution. But to get to the bar, it was necessary to cross half the chamber, because the president had his seat on one of the wings. When Napoleon had advanced alone across one-third of the Orangery, two or three hundred members suddenly rose, crying, "Death to the tyrant! Down with the dictator!"

Two grenadiers, who, by the order of the general, had remained at the door, and who had reluctantly obeyed, saying to him, "You do not know them, they are capable of any thing!" rushed in, sabre in hand, overthrowing all that opposed their passage, to join the general, and cover him with their bodies. All the other grenadiers followed this example, and forced him out of the chamber. In the confusion, one of them, named Thomé, was slightly wounded by the thrust of a dagger; and the clothes of another were cut through.

He descended into the court-yard, called the troops into a circle by beat of drum, got on horse-back, and harangued them. "I was about," said he, "to point out to them the means of saving the

republic, and restoring our glory. They answered me with their daggers. It was thus they would have accomplished the wishes of the allied kings. What more could England have done? Soldiers, may I rely upon you?"

Unanimous acclamations formed the reply to this speech. Napoleon instantly ordered a captain to go with ten men into the chamber of Five Hundred, and to liberate the president.

Lucien had just thrown off his robe. "Wretches!" exclaimed he, "you insist that I should put out of the protection of the laws my brother, the saviour of the country, him whose very name causes kings to tremble! I lay aside the insignia of the popular magistracy; I offer myself in the tribune as the defender of him, whom you command me to immolate unheard."

Thus saying, he quitted the chair, and darted into the tribune. The officer of grenadiers then presented himself at the door of the chamber, exclaiming, "Vive la République!" It was supposed that the troops were sending a deputation to express their devotion to the council. The captain was received with a joyful expression of feeling. He availed himself of the misapprehension, approached the tribune, and secured the president, saying to him in a low voice, "It is your brother's order." The grenadiers at the same time shouted, "Down with the assassins!"

Upon these exclamations, the joy of the members

was converted into sadness; a gloomy silence testified their dejection. No opposition was offered to the departure of the president, who rushed into the court-yard, mounted a horse, and cried out in his stentorian voice, "General—and you, soldiers—the president of the council of Five Hundred proclaims to you that factious men, with drawn daggers, have interrupted the deliberations of that assembly. He calls upon you to employ force against these disturbers. The council of Five Hundred is dissolved!"

"President," replied the general, "it shall be done."

He then ordered Murat into the chamber, at the head of a detachment in close column. At this crisis general B\*\*\* ventured to ask him for fifty men, in order to place himself in ambuscade upon the way, and fire upon the fugitives. Napoleon replied to this request only by enjoining the grenadiers to commit no excesses. "It is my wish," said he, "that not one drop of blood may be shed."

Murat presented himself at the door, and summoned the council to disperse. The shouts and vociferations continued. Colonel Moulins, aid-de-camp of Brune, who had just arrived from Holland, ordered the charge to be beaten. The drums put an end to the clamour. The soldiers entered the chamber charging bayonets. The deputies leaped out at the windows, and dispersed, leaving their

gowns, caps, &c.; in one moment the chamber was empty. Those members of the council who had shown most pertinacity, fled with the utmost precipitation to Paris.

About one hundred deputies of the Five Hundred rallied at the office and round the inspectors of the hall. They presented themselves in a body to the council of the Ancients. Lucien represented that the Five Hundred had been dissolved at his instance; that, in the exercise of his functions as president of the assembly, he had been surrounded by daggers; that he had sent attendants to summon the council again; that nothing had been done contrary to form, and that the troops had but obeyed his mandate. The council of the Ancients, which had witnessed with some uneasiness this exercise of military power, was satisfied with the explanation. At eleven at night the two councils reassembled; they formed large majorities. Two committees were appointed to report upon the state of the republic. On the report of Beranger, thanks to Napoleon and the troops were decreed. Boulay de la Meurthe, in the Five Hundred, and Villetard, in the Ancients, detailed the situation of the republic, and the measures necessary to be taken. The law of the 19th Brumaire was passed; it adjourned the councils to the 1st of Ventose following; it created two committees of twenty-five members each, to represent the councils provisionally. These com-

mittees were also to prepare a civil code. A provisional consular commission, consisting of Sièyes, Roger-Ducos, and Napoleon, was charged with the executive power.

This was one of the greatest and most decisive events in the life of Napoleon.



## CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF NAPOLEON TO THE THRONE  
TO THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.



AD Napoleon, after the peace of Amiens, preferred the interests of France to those of his own ambition, he might have secured to the nation the fruits of twelve years of internal and external struggle, and become the moderator of Europe. But he chose rather to be its sovereign; and keeping his eyes steadily fixed on the great image of Charlemagne, believed that he was, himself, summoned to the same high destinies. His first object of ambition was to add to the title of emperor of the French that of king of Italy; and the representatives of the Cisalpine republic decided that their country should be erected into a kingdom, in his favour. Napoleon set out, instantly, for Milan; where he put on the iron crown of the Lombard kings, and appointed Eugène de Beauharnais, his step-son, viceroy of Italy. The establishment of this kingdom, the annexation to the empire of the territory of Genoa and that of

Piedmont, and the efforts of the English cabinet, once more directed by Mr. Pitt, revolted Austria, and united that country, England and Russia, (where the emperor Alexander had succeeded to his murdered father,) in a third coalition against France. Napoleon was, at this time, at Boulogne, meditating a descent upon England, and preparing a formidable armament for that purpose. On learning that two hundred and twenty thousand Austrians were advancing, in three bodies, under the archdukes Ferdinand, John, and Charles, towards the Rhine and Adige, and that two Russian armies were in march to join them, he suddenly quitted Boulogne, passed the Rhine, on the 1st of October, 1805, at the head of one hundred and sixty thousand men, and advanced into Germany,—whilst Massena arrested prince Charles in Italy. The Danube was crossed, and Bavaria occupied; and Napoleon and his generals vied with each other in boldness and success,—Murat triumphing at Vertingen, Dupont at Hasslach, and Ney at Echlingen. Bewildered by such a series of rapid reverses, the Austrian general, Mack, suffered himself to be invested in Ulm, and laid down his arms, with thirty thousand men. This capitulation opened the gates of Vienna to the French; and Napoleon made his entry into that city on the 13th of November. From thence, he marched into Moravia, to meet the Russians; and encountered them, with the remains of the Austrian army, on the plains of Aus-



terlitz. The battle was fought on the 2d of December, the anniversary of his coronation; and there Napoleon gained the most brilliant of all his victories. The battle of Austerlitz put an end to the third coalition, and was followed, on the 26th of December, by the peace of Presburg. By this treaty, the house of Austria ceded the provinces of Dalmatia and Albania to the kingdom of Italy, and a great number of its possessions to the electorates of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, which were erected into kingdoms. But the year 1805, so fruitful in triumphs for France on the continent, beheld, likewise, the complete ruin of her navy. The combined fleets of France and Spain, under the command of admiral Villeneuve, beaten, on the 22d of July, at Cape Finisterre, lost, on the 21st of October, the celebrated battle of Trafalgar. Thirty-two French and Spanish ships were beaten by twenty-eight English sail, under the command of Nelson; and thirteen ships alone of the combined fleet escaped. This great victory, which cost the English admiral his life, secured to England the sovereignty of the seas; and it was no longer on that element that Napoleon attempted to disturb her power.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### FROM THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR TO THE OCCUPATION OF SPAIN.



HE trophies of Ulm and Austerlitz consoled France for the loss of her navy. Napoleon returned to Paris after his brilliant three months' campaign, and was received there with universal enthusiasm. Intoxicated with his high fortune, he occupied himself with effacing the last traces of the revolutionary institutions. The republican calendar was definitively replaced by the Gregorian; which was enriched by a new saint,—it being ordained, by decree, that on the 15th of August, the fête of Saint-Napoleon should be celebrated throughout the empire. By another decree, the basilica of Saint-Dennis was appointed as the burial-place of the emperors; and a chapel was ordered to be consecrated in that church to each race of the kings of France. The Pantheon was restored to the Catholic worship; and the tribunate ceased to exist. Napoleon, who, by the peace of Presburg, had created the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, declared that the house of Naples had lost the

crown, in chastisement of the share which it had taken in the last coalition, and transferred the Neapolitan sceptre to his brother Joseph. He erected the republic of the United Provinces into a kingdom, in favour of his brother Louis, and named his brother-in-law, prince Murat, grand-duke of Cleves and Berg. One single republic, alone, now remained, of all those which had surrounded France, under the directory—that of Switzerland; and Napoleon declared himself its mediator. He sought to restore the military system of the middle ages; and transformed divers provinces and principalities into grand fiefs of the empire, which he bestowed, as recompenses, on his most illustrious ministers and generals. Thus were Dalmatia, Istria, Belluno, Conegliano, Treviso, Bassano, Vicenza, Padua, Rovigo, and others, erected into duchies, and Neuchâtel, Benevento, and Guastalla into principalities. Two years later, Napoleon gave the finishing blow to the republican institutions, by creating a new hereditary nobility, in which the old illustrious families took rank, for the most part, after the distinguished men of the day. Thus, a Montmorency was made a count, at the same time that the minister of justice, Fouché, became a duke. This was trifling with the good sense of the public, and altogether misunderstanding the characteristic distinctions between ancient and modern times. It was an idle nourishing of the vain hope of commencing a new era, by setting up himself as the principle and source

of a novel order of things, and giving to the institutions of an advanced civilization the forms adopted for that of an age as yet barbarous. But the press was, then, constrained to adulation or to silence; and the victor-laurels which covered the faults of Napoleon, extorted pardon for his errors and despotic acts. In the year 1806, all things smiled upon his wishes. His irreconcilable enemy, Pitt, was dead, and had been succeeded by Fox, the leader of the parliamentary opposition. Negotiations for peace were, immediately, set on foot, between the two powers, and actively prosecuted by the minister, Talleyrand. Napoleon, however, still laboured to extend his domination in Europe; and completed the organization of his military empire, by bringing the ancient Germanic body into an admission of its dependence upon himself. On the 12th of July, 1806, fourteen princes of the south and west of Germany formed an union, under the title of the Confederation of the Rhine, and acknowledged Napoleon as its protector. Francis II. abdicated the title of emperor of Germany, and took that of emperor of Austria, under the name of Francis I.:—and thus ended the Germanic empire, after having existed a thousand years.

Frederick William, king of Prussia, uneasy at the invasions of France, and jealous of the perpetually increasing ascendancy of Napoleon in Europe, was desirous of forming, in Germany, a confederation of the northern states, with the view of opposing

it to the confederation of the Rhine. Napoleon prevented Hesse, Saxony and the Hanseatic towns from entering into this league; and having rejected the ultimatum of Prussia, Frederick William resolved upon war. He invaded Saxony; the French ambassador was insulted in Berlin; and the young and beautiful queen of Prussia traversed that city on horseback, and in military costume, for the purpose of exciting the warlike enthusiasm of the populace. "She looks," said Napoleon, speaking of her, "like Armida, in her distraction, setting fire to her own palace." These were prophetic words; for France was again destined to crush this fourth coalition, formed between Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and England. The death of Fox, which followed soon after that of Pitt, had destroyed all hope of conciliation between that latter power and the French empire.

Napoleon entered upon this campaign, on the 28th of September; and, on the 14th of October, the fate of Prussia was decided by two glorious victories. The emperor triumphed at Jena; and his lieutenant, Davoust, was victor, on the same day, at Auerstaedt. Lubeck was taken; all the fortresses of Prussia capitulated: and, in a few days, that despotic and military monarchy was annihilated. Napoleon traversed the battle-field of Rossbach; where his presence effaced the disgrace suffered there by the French arms in the preceding century. At Potsdam, he visited the tomb of the

great Frederick, and took possession of that famous warrior's sword. He then marched into Poland to meet the Russian army; which he fought, on the 7th of February (1807,) with equal loss on both sides, in the bloody battle of Eylau,—and which he crushed, on the 14th of June, at Friedland. Alexander sued for peace; a conference took place, on a raft on the Niemen, between the two emperors and the king of Prussia; and, on the 7th of July, peace was signed at Tilsit. Alexander interceded for Frederick William, to whom Napoleon gave back the half of his estates. Saxony and Westphalia, augmented, the one by a great portion of the Prussian territory and the other by Hanover, were erected into kingdoms. The vanquished sovereigns acknowledged as grand-duke of Warsaw the elector of Saxony, who had already been crowned king by the emperor, and as kings of Naples, Holland and Westphalia, the brothers of Napoleon, Joseph, Louis, and Jerome;—and the confederation of the Rhine, from thenceforth, extended to the Elbe.

England alone continued to resist Napoleon; who directed all his efforts against her, and strove to crush her, by annihilating her commerce in Europe. On the 21st of November, in the preceding year, had issued, from Berlin, the famous decree which created the continental system, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade, and extending the seizure of all English merchandise to every Englishman found on the territory of France, on those of

the countries which she had conquered, or of the states which acknowledged the dominion of her allies. Every nation which refused to adhere to this system was to be considered as an enemy of the French empire.

This decree disturbed all Europe. It was especially injurious to the interests of the northern and southern nations, for whom the commerce with England was a vital necessity ; and it involved Napoleon in a series of violent measures and gigantic operations, which precipitated his downfall. England, deprived of the alliance of Russia by the treaty of Tilsit, determined, at whatever cost, to preserve a footing on the coasts of the Baltic ; to which end she demanded of Denmark an alliance defensive and offensive, and, as guarantee, the delivery of her fleet and her capital. On the king's refusal to comply with this demand, Copenhagen underwent, on the 2d of September, 1807, a terrible bombardment, which destroyed three hundred houses ; while the Danish fleet, composed of fifty-three ships of war, fell into the hands of the English. Victim of this act of iniquitous and barbarous violence, Denmark avenged herself by instantly adhering to the continental system ; and Russia followed her example. Alexander declared, besides, that he prohibited all communication with the English until there should be peace between France and Great Britain.

Sweden was the only power in the north which, after the treaty of Tilsit, had remained in arms.



Her feeble monarch, Gustavus IV., declared himself the avenger of Europe against Napoleon; but, abandoned by England, and plundered by his former ally, Russia, he saw Stralsund and the Isle of Rugen carried off before his eyes, lost Pomerania, and by his foolish pride alienated from himself the affection of his subjects. The entire shores of the Baltic submitted to the French yoke. England had, some months previously, vainly attempted to subdue the Ottoman Porte, at that time at war with Russia, and an ally of France. An English fleet, after having, with this design, passed the Dardanelles, had been beaten back by formidable batteries, hastily thrown up by the French ambassador, Sebastiani. There remained but one single state which acknowledged the direct influence of Great Britain. That state was Portugal; and Napoleon, who, by the decree of the continental blockade, had arrogated to himself the right of disposing, at his own good pleasure, of the destinies of nations, signed, at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of September, 1807, an iniquitous treaty with Spain, by which Portugal, in chastisement of her alliance with England, was to be almost entirely shared between the king of Etruria, and Godoy, prince of peace, who governed the Spanish monarchy. This treaty acknowledged the king of Spain, Charles IV., as suzerain of the two states formed by the dismemberment of Portugal. A proclamation announced, on the 13th of December, 1807, that the house of Braganza had

ceased to reign. Twenty-eight thousand French, under the command of Junot, were charged with the execution of this sentence; and, before their arrival at Lisbon, the prince regent of Portugal embarked for Brazil, abandoning his capital and his fleet to the invading army.

This rapid success, and the scandalous dissensions of the royal family of Spain, inflamed the ambition of Napoleon, and accustomed him to look upon the peninsula, in part or in whole, as his conquest. The feeble Charles IV., entirely governed by the queen's favourite, Godoy, had rendered himself contemptible in the eyes of all his subjects; of whom Ferdinand, the prince of Asturias, became the idol, as the declared enemy of the obnoxious favourite. Napoleon, at the summit of his fortune, was an object of admiration and reverence to Charles IV. and his son. Already, he had been chosen as the arbiter of their differences; and the prince of Asturias had solicited the honour of an alliance with his family. It was in the emperor's power, by pacific measures, to have exercised a sovereign influence over Spain, and profited, advantageously for his own system, by the hatred with which a number of maritime disasters had inspired the Spaniards against England. This, however, was not sufficient for his ambition; and, whilst the eyes of all the royal family of Spain were turned towards him in hope, a French army passed the Pyrenees, under Murat, the grand-duke

of Berg, and suddenly the news reached Madrid that the strong-holds of Barcelona, Figueras, Pampeluna and Saint Sebastian were militarily occupied by the French (1808). Soon afterwards, Napoleon, in contempt of the treaty of Fontainebleau, openly demanded the annexation to his empire of the provinces on the left bank of the Ebro. Charles IV. and the queen were smitten with dismay; and Godoy counselled them to imitate the prince regent of Portugal, and embark for their dominions in America. His advice was adopted, and preparations were making for their departure; but Ferdinand opposed the measure, and, summoning the population of Aranjuez to arms, denounced to them, as new treacheries, the dastardly counsels of Godoy. An insurrection was the consequence, in which the troops took part, and which was directed by Ferdinand. He caused Godoy to be arrested, kept his father prisoner, compelled him to abdicate, and then made a triumphal entry into Madrid, in the character of king of the two Spains.

On the following day, however, Murat, without awaiting the emperor's orders, entered that capital with his army. Charles IV. protested against his compulsory abdication, and Murat refused to acknowledge the royalty of Ferdinand. 'Napoleon, alone,' he said, 'must decide between the father and son.' The emperor came to Bayonne; whither he invited king Charles and his son to repair, that he might pronounce, as supreme arbiter of their differ-

ences and destinies. They obeyed the summons; and Napoleon, master of their persons, decided for the father, and compelled him to abdicate in his own favour. Charles IV. had the chateau of Campiègne assigned for his habitation, and his son was held captive in that of Valençay. Thus was consummated an odious act of usurpation, whose results became fatal to its author, and gave the first blow to his fortune, by shaking the stability of his throne. Murat, however, retained possession of Madrid; and, swayed by French influence, the council of Castile was induced to demand as king of Spain, Napoleon's eldest brother, Joseph.

An assembly of notables was immediately convened at Bayonne; at which the emperor organized a junta charged with the provisional government. Joseph yielded up the crown of Naples to Joachim Murat, instantly quitted that capital, and arrived at Bayonne, on the 7th of June; where he was acknowledged king of Spain by the duke de l'Infantado, and a deputation of the grandes and different bodies of the state. The assembly of Bayonne voted a constitution, to which Joseph swore; and, on the 9th of July, he was in march for Spain. But already the Spaniards, indignant and furious at the usurpation, had flown to arms. The clergy set the example of revolt, declaring that heaven was interested in the cause of Ferdinand, and denouncing Napoleon as Anti-christ. The army had risen in

mass; and a provisional junta of government assembled at Seville, disputed and annulled the acts of the junta of Bayonne. On Saint-Ferdinand's day, a new 'Sicilian Vespers' sounded against the French, throughout the whole of Spain. Their squadron was seized at Cadiz, and the crews slaughtered; and the Spaniards signalized their vengeance, in various places, by massacres and crime. They declared war to the death against the French,—and the Portuguese followed their example. However, Bessières was victorious at Medina de Rio Secco; and his success opened the gates of Madrid to king Joseph,—who made his entry into that capital on the 20th of July.

Almost immediately afterwards, however, general Dupont shamefully capitulated, at Baylen, and laid down his arms, with twenty-six thousand soldiers. This terrible check gave a shock to the French authority in the peninsula, and redoubled the daring of the Spaniards. Joseph was obliged to quit Madrid, one week after his solemn entry. Portugal revolted; and an English army landed there, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the duke of Wellington. Junot, with only ten thousand men, risked the battle of Vimiera against twenty-six thousand English and Portuguese. He was beaten; and, shortly afterwards, signed the convention of Cintra, which at least left him at liberty to return to France with honour

Portugal was evacuated ; and already Joseph possessed no more than Barcelona, Navarre and Biscay, in all Spain. The English, so recently enemies to the Spaniards, were received by them with open arms. The star of Napoleon began to wane ; and the *prestige* of the invincibility of the French arms, under his reign, was at length destroyed.



## CHAPTER XIV.

## ANECDOTES.

*Coronation of Napoleon.*

HE Pope arrived in Paris on the 28th of November; and no time was lost in preparing for the solemnity which had brought him thither. Two days after, that is to say, on the first of December, the senate presented to the emperor the result of the votes of the people, on the question of hereditary succession; and next day the consecration took place. It was pretended that the title of emperor changed nothing of the republic, and that the succession of this dignity in one family was the only innovation produced under the empire.

On the 2d of December, 1804, the pope repaired first to the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, before the emperor; the imperial cortège appeared resplendent with gold, plumes, and rich furniture of the horses; the costumes dazzled the multitude, and for the first time pages were stuck round the imperial carriage. The vast interior was crowded with an audience in



full dress, and with swords. The crowns, both for himself and the empress, were laid upon the altar; and the pope, having anointed the foreheads and temples of the emperor and empress with oil, which he had previously consecrated for the purpose, proceeded to bless and consecrate the crowns, taking them in his hands as he pronounced the benediction. He then replaced them on the altar; and, retiring to his own seat, Napoleon advanced. Taking in his hand the crown destined for himself, and "a wreath of laurel," he pronounced the oath to the nation, which had been decreed by the senate, and repeated a formula signifying his acknowledgment that he held the crown by the favour of God and the French people; after which he placed it upon his head. The empress then advancing, he took in like manner into his hand the crown destined for her, in form the same as the queens of France used to wear, and pronouncing a formula purporting that she held the crown only as his true and lawful wife, not from any right inherent in herself, he placed the crown upon her head.

*David's Picture of the Coronation.*

Prior to its public exhibition Napoleon appointed a day to inspect it in person, when, in order to confer a greater honour upon the artist, he went in state, attended by a detachment of horse and a military band, accompanied by the empress Jose-

phine, the princes and princesses of his family, and followed by his ministers and the great officers of the crown.

After an attentive examination of the work, he expressed himself in these words :

“ M. David, this is well ; very well indeed ; you have conceived my whole idea ; the empress, my mother, the emperor, all, are most appropriately placed ; you have made me a French knight, and I am gratified that you have thus transmitted to future ages the proofs of affection I was desirous of testifying towards the empress.”

After a silence of some seconds, Napoleon’s hat being on, and Josephine standing at his right-hand, with M. David on his left, the emperor advanced two steps, and, turning to the painter, uncovered himself, making a profound obeisance while uttering these words in an elevated tone of voice, “ Monsieur David, I salute you !”

“ Sire,” replied the painter, “ I receive the compliment of the emperor, in the name of all the artists of the empire, happy in being the individual one you deign to make the channel of such an honour.”

When the picture was removed to the museum, the emperor wished to inspect it a second time ; and M. David in consequence attended in the hall of the Louvre, surrounded by his pupils ; upon which occasion, at the emperor’s desire, he pointed out the most conspicuous “*élèves*” who received the

decoration of the legion of honour: "It is requisite," said Napoleon, "that I should testify my satisfaction to the master of so many distinguished artists; therefore, I promote you to be officer of the legion of honour: M. Duroc, give a golden decoration to M. David!"—"Sire, I have none with me," answered the grand-marshal. "No matter," replied the emperor, "do not let this day transpire without executing my order." And on the same evening the insignia were forwarded to M. David.

The king of Wirtemberg, at the suggestion of the emperor, also waited upon the artist to inspect his labour, when, on contemplating the performance, and in particular, the luminous brightness spread over the group in which are the pope and cardinal Caprara, his majesty thus expressed himself: "I did not believe that your art could effect such wonders; white and black, in painting, afford but very weak resources. When you produced this, you had, no doubt, 'a sunbeam upon your pencil.'"

### *Napoleon at Boulogne.*

From the extensive preparations made by the flotilla at Boulogne, every thing seemed to announce a speedy invasion of Great Britain. The praams, cutters, gun-boats, and even the smallest craft, were filled with troops, who all felt desirous of taking advantage of the opportunity of joining the standards of those legions that would be immortalized,

should the conquest of Albion be achieved. Already destruction seemed to wield the falchion over the plains of England, whose formidable fleets and well-known maritime genius so ably counterbalanced the glory of the French arms. Napoleon, who was at that period first consul, had already disposed every thing in order for this great event, when other circumstances intervened to impede the project, the result of which, whether successful or not, would have influenced, in a great measure, the destinies of Europe. At this epoch a British squadron was cruising in the Channel, and particularly blockaded the ports of Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk. One day, on the near approach of this fleet to the French coast, the flotilla made sail, not to give regular battle to the English, but to annoy them, if possible, at a distance. At this period the British frigate "Immortality," advancing from the line of battle, almost singly engaged the gun-boats, cutters, &c., when Bonaparte, being at the time in his own boat, was thus perilously placed between the fire of the English vessels and that of the French praams, &c. Upon a thousand occasions similar to the present, notwithstanding the play of an enemy's artillery, Napoleon had never issued orders to his soldiers to halt; but, in this instance, as if actuated by a secret fore-knowledge, he had only time to exclaim—"Raise your oars!" and in the course of half a second a bullet fell so close to the boat, as to wet every individual stationed within it.

*Battle of Austerlitz.*

At length the great day arrived, when, according to the expression of Napoleon, "the sun of Austerlitz arose;" all our forces were concentrated upon the same point at about forty leagues beyond Vienna. There remained only the wreck of the Austrian army; the division under prince Charles having been kept at a distance by the skilful manœuvres of Napoleon. The most extraordinary illusion prevailed in the enemy's camp. On the very eve of the battle the emperor Alexander sent one of his aids-de-camp, prince Dolgorowski, as a flag of truce to Napoleon. This prince conducted himself in such a self-sufficient manner in the presence of the emperor, that, on dismissing him, he said to him, "If you were on the heights of Montmartre, I would answer such impertinence only with cannon-balls." This observation was very remarkable, inasmuch as events occurred which rendered it a prophecy.

"When we arrived at Austerlitz," says Rapp, "the Russians, ignorant of the emperor's skilful dispositions to draw them to the ground which he had marked out, and seeing our advanced guards give way before their columns, they conceived the victory won. According to their notions, the advanced guard would suffice to secure an easy triumph. But the battle began—they found what it







GILBERT & GRON

THE NIGHT BEFORE THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ.



was to fight, and on every point were repulsed. At one o'clock the victory was still uncertain; for they fought admirably. They resolved on a last effort, and directed close masses against our centre. The imperial guard deployed; artillery, cavalry, infantry, were marched against a bridge which the Russians attacked, and this movement, concealed from Napoleon by the inequality of the ground, was not observed by us. At this moment I was standing near him, waiting orders. We heard a well-maintained fire of musketry; the Russians were repulsing one of our brigades. Hearing this sound, the emperor ordered me to take the Mamelukes, two squadrons of chasseurs, one of grenadiers of the guard, and to observe the state of things. I set off at full gallop, and, before advancing a cannon-shot, perceived the disaster. The Russian cavalry had penetrated our squares, and were sabring our men. In the distance could be perceived masses of Russian cavalry and infantry in reserve. At this juncture the enemy advanced: four pieces of artillery arrived at a gallop, and were planted in position against us. On the left I had the brave Morland, on my right general d'Allemagne. "Courage, my brave fellows!" cried I to my party; "behold your brothers, your friends, butchered; let us avenge them—avenge our standards! Forward!" These few words inspired my soldiers; we dashed at full speed upon the artillery, and took them. The enemy's horse, which awaited our attack, were

overthrown by the same charge, and fled in confusion, galloping, like us, over the wrecks of our own squares. In the meantime the Russians rallied; but, a squadron of horse grenadiers coming to our assistance, I could then halt, and await the reserves of the Russian guard. Again we charged; and this charge was terrible. The brave Morland fell by my side. It was absolute butchery. We fought man to man, and so mingled together, that the infantry on neither side dared to fire, lest they should kill their own men. The intrepidity of our troops finally bore us in triumph over all opposition: the enemy fled in disorder in sight of the two emperors of Austria and Russia, who had taken their station on a rising ground, in order to be spectators of the contest. They ought to have been satisfied, for I can assure you they witnessed no child's play. For my own part, my good friend, I never passed so delightful a day. The emperor received me most graciously when I arrived to tell him that the victory was ours; I still grasped my broken sabre, and, as this scratch upon my head bled very copiously, I was all covered with blood. He named me general of division. The Russians returned not again to the charge—they had had enough, we captured every thing—their cannon, their baggage, their all in short; and prince Ressina was among the prisoners."

*Bulletin of the Battle of Jena.*

“The battle of Jena has washed out the affront of Rosbach, and decided, in seven days, a campaign which has entirely calmed the warlike frenzy which had possessed itself of the Prussian mind.

“The king of Prussia wished to commence hostilities on the 9th of October, by defiling before Frankfort on his right, Wurtzburg on his centre, and Bamberg on his left; all the divisions of his army were disposed to execute this plan; but the French army, turning on the extremity of his left, found itself in a few days at Sadlbürg, Labenstein, Schleisz, Gera, and Naumburg. The Prussian army being turned, employed the days of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, in recalling all its detachments, and on the 13th presented itself in order of battle between Capelsdorf and Auerstadt, being about a hundred and fifty thousand men strong.

“On the 13th, at two o’clock in the afternoon, the emperor arrived at Jena, and from a slight elevation, occupied by our advance-guard, he perceived the disposition of the enemy, who appeared to be manœuvring in order to attack the next day, and force the different mouths of the Saale. The enemy defended in great strength, and in an almost impregnable position, the road from Jena to Weimar, and appeared to think that the French could not defile in the plain, without having forced this

passage; it did not appear possible, indeed, to mount any artillery on the plain, which, besides, was so small, that four battalions could scarcely find room on it. We laboured all night at forming a road through the rock, and succeeded in conveying the artillery to the heights.

“ Marshal Davoust received orders to pass by Naumburg to defend the defiles of Koesen, if they attempted to march upon Naumburg, or repair to Alпода, to take them in the rear if they remained in their present position.

“ The *corps* of marshal prince de Ponte Corvo, was destined to defile from Dornburg, in order to fall upon the rear of the enemy whether they attacked Naumburg or Jena in any force.

“ The heavy cavalry, which had not yet rejoined the army, could not arrive until noon; the cavalry of the Imperial guard were at thirty-six leagues distance, in spite of the forced marches it had made since its departure from Paris. But there are moments in war, when no consideration can balance the advantage of being before-hand with the enemy, and of attacking first. The emperor ordered to be ranged on the elevation which was occupied by the advance-guard, which the enemy appeared to have neglected, and opposite to which they were in position, the whole of the *corps* of marshal Lannes, each division forming a wing. Marshal Lefebvre placed on the summit, the Imperial guard in a square battalion. The emperor bivouacked in the

midst of his brave fellows. The night offered a spectacle worthy of observation, that of the two armies, one of which embraced with its front an extent of six leagues, and peopled the atmosphere with its fires, the other whose apparent fires were concentrated in a small point, and in both encampments, activity and motion. The fires of the two armies were within half cannon-shot; the sentinels almost touched each other, and not a movement could be made without being heard.

“The troops of marshal Ney and Soult passed the night in marching. At day-break, the whole of the troops took arms. The division Gazan was ranged in three lines to the left of the hill. The division Suchet formed the right; the Imperial guard occupied the summit of the hillock; each of these bodies having their cannon in the intervals. From the town and the neighbouring valleys, some passages had been constructed, which permitted the easier operations of the troops who had not been able to find room on the hills; for it was, perhaps, the first time that an army was to pass through so narrow a defile.

“A thick fog obscured the day. The emperor passed before several lines; he recommended the soldiers to be on their guard against the Prussian cavalry, which had been represented as so formidable. He bade them remember that, a year ago, at the same period, they had conquered Ulm; that the Prussian, like the Austrian army, was at that

moment shackled, having lost its line of operations and its magazines ; that it could not, therefore, fight for glory, but for a retreat ; that, as it would seek to force a passage on different points, those divisions which allowed it to pass, should lose honour and reputation. To this animated discourse, the soldiers replied by cries of ‘Let us march.’ The riflemen commenced the action, and the firing soon became vigorous. Good as was the position which the enemy occupied, it was nevertheless dislodged, and the French army, defiling into the plain, began to take up its order of battle.

“On their side, the chief body of the hostile army, which had only intended to commence the attack when the fog had cleared up, took arms. A body of fifty thousand men on the left, posted themselves so as to cover the defiles of Naumburg ; but they had already been forestalled by marshal Davoust. The two other bodies, forming a force of eighty thousand men, marched to meet the French army, which was just emerging from the plain of Jena. The fog covered the armies during two hours, but was at length dissipated by a fine autumn sun. The two armies perceived each other within cannon-shot. The left of the French troops, supported by a village and some woods, was commanded by marshal Augereau. The Imperial guard separated it from the centre, which was occupied by marshal Lannes. The right was formed by the *corps* of marshal Soult ; marshal Ney had

but a small body of three thousand men, the only troops under his command which had arrived.

“The hostile army was numerous, and boasted of a fine cavalry. The manœuvres were executed with precision and rapidity. The emperor had wished to delay for two hours, before commencing the action, in order to wait, in the position which he had just taken after the attack of the morning for the troops which were to join him, and especially the cavalry; but French ardour carried all before it. Several battalions being engaged at the village of Holstedt, he saw the enemy moving to gain this post. Marshal Lannes immediately received orders to march to the support of this village. Marshal Soult had attacked a wood on the right. The enemy having made a movement of its right upon our left, marshal Augereau was charged to repulse it; in less than an hour the action became general; two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand men, with seven or eight hundred pieces of cannon, scattered death on all sides, and presented a spectacle rare in history.

“Both sides were constantly executing manœuvres as though on parade. Among our troops there was not the least disorder; the victory was never for a moment doubtful. The emperor retained near him, exclusive of the Imperial guard, a large number of reserved troops, in order to be enabled to provide against any unforeseen accident.

“Marshal Soult, having carried the wood which



he had attacked during two hours, made a movement in advance. At this moment the emperor was advised that the division of French cavalry in reserve, had begun to form, and that two divisions of the troops of marshal Ney had taken up their position in the rear of the field of battle. All the troops in reserve on the first line were then ordered to advance, who, finding themselves supported, overthrew the enemy in the twinkling of an eye, and made them retreat precipitately. They did so in good order for the first hour ; but this was converted into a frightful disorder the moment that our divisions of dragoons and cuirassiers, having the grand-duke of Berg at their head, were able to take part in the affair. These brave soldiers, trembling to behold the victory decided without them, threw themselves upon the enemy in all directions. Neither horse nor foot could withstand the shock. In vain did the Prussians form in square battalions. Five of them were broken through ; artillery, cavalry, all, were overthrown and taken. The French reached Weimar at the same time with the enemy, who were thus pursued for six leagues.

“ On our right, marshal Davoust was performing prodigies. He not only restrained, but continued fighting with the whole of the hostile troops which were to have defiled by Koesen.

“ The results of the battle are : thirty to forty thousand prisoners more are being brought in every minute ; five-and-twenty to thirty flags, three hun-

dred pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of provision. Among the prisoners are more than twenty generals, some of them lieutenant-generals, and, among others, lieutenant-general Schmettau. The number of dead in the Prussian army is immense. It is reckoned that about twenty thousand are killed or wounded; field-marshal Mollendorff has been wounded; the duke of Brunswick is killed, also general Blucher; and Prince Henry of Prussia is grievously wounded. By the account of the prisoners, deserters, and such like, the disorder and confusion in the remains of the hostile army are extreme.

“The Prussian army has, in this battle, been foiled in its retreat, and lost all its line of operations. Its left, pursued by marshal Davoust, effected a retreat upon Weimar, at the same time that its right and centre retired from Weimar upon Naumburg. The confusion, therefore, was extreme. The king was compelled to retire from the field at the head of his regiment of cavalry.

“Our loss is reckoned at a thousand or twelve hundred killed, and three thousand wounded. The grand-duke of Berg was at this time investing Erfurt, where he found a body of the enemy, commanded by marshal Mollendorff and the Prince of Orange. If it could enhance the claims which the army has to the esteem and consideration of the nation, nothing could surpass the favourable sentiments felt by those who were witnesses of the en-

thusiasm and love which were evinced towards the emperor in the heat of the battle. Wherever there was a moment's hesitation, the mere cry of '*Vive l'Empereur !*' reanimated the courage of all. In the midst of the struggle, the emperor seeing his eagles menaced by the cavalry, galloped forward to order manœuvres and changes in the squares; he was interrupted every moment by the cries of '*Vive l'Empereur !*' The Imperial foot-guards, beheld with a spleen they were unable to conceal, every body engaged, and themselves inactive. Several voices shouted 'Forward!'—'How now?' said the emperor, 'this can only be some beardless young man who ventures to prejudge my actions: let him wait until he has commanded in thirty pitched battles before pretending to advise me.' It was, in effect, some recruits who were anxious to signalize their youthful valour.

"In so warm a fight, in which the enemy lost almost all their generals, we should thank that Providence which watched over our army, that no man of note has been killed or wounded. Marshal Lannes had his breast scratched without being wounded. Marshal Davoust had his hat carried away, and a great number of balls in his clothes."

## CHAPTER XV.

### FROM THE INTERVIEW OF ERFURT TO THE RUSSIAN WAR.



**D**ETERMINED to subdue Spain, Napoleon strengthened his alliance with Alexander, by an interview at Erfurt, in September and October. 1808; and, secure of the pacific intentions of that emperor, he recalled his legions from the banks of the Niemen, the Spree, the Elbe, and the Danube, and directed them against Spain,—where his presence, at the head of his veterans, soon changed the aspect of things. The battles of Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela, in which his eagles were triumphant, once more opened to Joseph the gates of Madrid. Arrived in that capital, Napoleon promised franchises and the abolition of feudalism to the Spaniards; but he spoke to a people who scarcely understood him, who had no ears but for their priests, and whose heroism displayed itself only in their impatience of a foreign yoke. Their answers to the liberal promises of the usurper were cries of exe-

eration and rage. They organized themselves into guerilla bands, who converted Spain into a second Vendée for the troops of France. Everywhere, the population rose, and flew to arms; and the vow of national independence became a bond to unite the constitutionalists with the partisans of the clergy, against their common enemy, France. The English were approaching, and Napoleon marched to meet them. But his course was suddenly arrested by the intelligence that Austria, emboldened by his absence and the withdrawal of his veteran troops, had formed a fifth coalition with England and the Holy See (1809); and that the archduke Charles was, again, in arms, and with difficulty held in check by Davoust, whose force was inferior. Napoleon instantly quitted Spain, flew to the Rhine, triumphed at Eckmühl and at Ratisbonne; and the French army entered, a second time, as victors, into the capital of Austria. On the 22d of May, was fought, on some islands in the Danube, the bloody and undecisive battle of Essling; in which the emperor lost thousands of brave men, and his friend Lannes, duke of Montebello. The corps of Marmont and Eugène rejoined the grand army, and repaired its losses; and, after the victory of Raab, the terrible battle of Wagram, in which no less than twelve hundred pieces of cannon swept the ranks of the two armies, terminated the war, in favour of France. The vanquished Francis I signed, on the 14th of October, the peace of Vienna

whereby he ceded several provinces, and gave in his adherence to the continental system. Pope Pius VII., who, groaning under the partition of his territories, had given his countenance to this coalition, and threatened the emperor with the thunders of the Vatican, was dethroned from his temporal sovereignty, brutally torn from the pontifical palace, and consigned to a four years' captivity, first at Savone, and afterwards at Fontainebleau; and the ancient metropolis of the world was degraded into the capital of a French department. A numerous English army had, during this campaign, attempted a descent upon Holland; Flushing had fallen into their power, and Antwerp was menaced by them. But the strong defensive condition of this place, and a levy of national guards in the northern departments, rendered their efforts unavailing. Their ranks were thinned by sickness in the marshes of Zealand; and they evacuated Flushing, after having sustained considerable losses. The resistance to Napoleon's arms in the peninsula was, however, continued, notwithstanding numerous victories gained by his generals. Sebastiani had triumphed at Ciudad-Real, Victor at Medelin, and Soult at Oporto, where twenty thousand Portuguese were left upon the field of battle. But the lofty example of Palafox, the defender of Saragossa, and the heroic conduct of the inhabitants of that town, who buried themselves beneath its ruins rather than submit to the conqueror, excited the enthusiasm,

and redoubled the energies of the Spaniards. The English, hailed by them as deliverers, successfully seconded their efforts. On the 28th of July, Joseph fought, against Sir Arthur Wellesley, the undecisive battle of Talavera,—which, however, the English celebrated as a victory. In vain did Sebastiani triumph, on the 21st of August, at Almonacid; and Mortier, with twenty-five thousand men, overthrow fifty thousand, at Ocana, on the 19th of November; in vain was Andalusia open to the French;—Spain was still unsubdued. Soult in the south, and Suchet in the north, commenced the campaign of 1810. Granada, Malaga, and Seville, were occupied by the French; and the provisional junta of Seville removed to Cadiz, which was unsuccessfully besieged by marshal Victor. It was at this period that South America threw off the Spanish yoke, and proclaimed the federal government of Venezuela. Massena, prince of Essling, at the same time, sustained the war in Portugal against Wellington, whose army was greatly superior to that of the French: but the success of the campaign was compromised by a serious misunderstanding which arose betwixt him and marshal Ney. He marched upon the capital, was beaten at Busaco,—and his progress finally arrested, in the month of December, by Wellington, before the formidable lines of Torres Vedras, which covered Lisbon.

Whilst the peninsula was thus devouring the flower of the French armies, Napoleon attained the



highest point of his marvellous destinies. Induced alike by his anxiety for an heir, and his desire to ally himself with the old European dynasties, he divorced his first wife, Josephine de Beauharnais, and, on the 30th of March, 1810, married Maria-Louisa, archduchess of Austria, and daughter of the emperor Francis.

Holland was, in this year, united with France; and Napoleon dethroned his brother Louis, whose kingdom had become an entrepôt for English merchandise. On this occasion the *Moniteur* gave publicity to the policy of the emperor relatively to those on whom he conferred crowns. ‘Know,’ said he, to the kings, his brothers, ‘that your first duties are towards me and France.’ The revelation to Europe of this egotistical policy had a powerful share in contributing to array it against him. One of his generals was, at this period, chosen to the succession of the Swedish throne. Charles XIII., who reigned in that kingdom, since the deposition, in 1809, of the violent and imprudent Gustavus IV., adopted as his son, in 1810, Bernadotte, the prince of Ponte-Corvo, elected, by the States-general, prince royal of Sweden. Napoleon saw, in this election, an event likely to complete the submission of the north to his system,—not for a moment anticipating that his lieutenant might, one day, prefer the interests of the people over whom he reigned to those of his native country,—and he, accordingly, permitted him to accept the royal destiny which

presented itself. Sweden, since the accession of Charles XIII., had adhered to the continental system; and there was a moment during which the blockade was observed throughout the whole of Europe. The French empire, augmented by the Roman States, the Illyrian provinces, the Valais, Holland, and the Hanseatic towns, consisted of one hundred and thirty departments, and extended from Hamburg and Dantzick to Trieste and Corfu. Napoleon reigned over fifty millions of subjects; and the birth, in March, 1811, of a son, who was proclaimed king of Rome in his cradle, appeared to consolidate his prodigious fortune, by securing to him a successor. But, at this very period, all the interests encroached upon by this colossal power, were preparing a formidable reaction against it. Napoleon, wedded to an Austrian princess, the creator of a new nobility, surrounded by the ancient array of courts, and attached to all the puerilities of a strict etiquette, sought to disavow his popular origin, and alienated from himself the partisans of the revolution, without gaining over the friends of the old régime in their place, and without being sincerely adopted as their equal by the sovereigns of the ancient European dynasties. At home, his despotism appeared the more oppressive in proportion as the effect of his victories was weakened by their frequency;—abroad, Russia, Sweden, and Holland, wounded in their commercial interests, awaited but a favourable opportunity for shaking

off the yoke of his continental system, as Austria did, also, that of regaining her lost provinces. Prussia had heavy indignities to avenge. A great fermentation prevailed throughout her universities; whence issued the cry of independence and rage against the oppressor of Europe; and already Napoleon, in his residence at Schoenbrun, had narrowly escaped perishing by the dagger of the student Stabs. Spain and Portugal, supported by England, opposed an invincible resistance to his arms; and the clergy, indignant at his spoliation of the temporal patrimony of Saint Peter, openly conspired against him. Napoleon had, by his own system, condemned himself to a perpetual struggle against the league of dynasties, of nations, of the priesthood, and of commerce,—and was overwhelmed by that struggle, in the end.

Towards the close of 1811, a commercial ukase re-opened the ports of Russia to the colonial produce of England, and the armies of Alexander approached the Niemen. At the same time, Sweden renounced her adhesion to the continental system; and, shortly afterwards, a sixth confederation against France was formed between England, Russia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal,—France being voluntarily seconded by Italy and Poland, and constrainedly so, by Germany, Prussia, and Austria. The sultan Mahmoud, the successor of Selim, who had been slain by the janissaries, entered, at this period, into treaty with Russia, and signed the peace of Bucha-

rest. Napoleon repaired to Dresden; where his court was composed of most of the crowned heads and princes in Europe;—and there he made final but fruitless efforts to re-attach Alexander to his system. That which he failed in obtaining by means of persuasion, he determined to secure by force of arms; and war was declared against Russia, on the 22d of June, 1812.



## CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN  
TO THE ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON AT FONTAIN-  
BLEAU.



NAPOLEON took the field, at the head of four hundred thousand soldiers, passed the Niemen, on the 24th of June, with half his forces, and halted at Wilna seventeen days. That delay was fatal to his arms. The diet of Warsaw, during his sojourn in Poland, proclaimed the re-establishment of the kingdom, and the liberation of the entire nation. A deputation demanded of the emperor that he should recognise the existence of Poland. Napoleon hesitated, and gave finally an evasive answer. After a glorious action, he arrived at Witepsk, the hostile army, under the command of Barclay de Tolly, retiring before him. A bloody battle was fought before Smolensko, which was abandoned to the flames. The Russians fell back, and the French continued to advance. Valoutina witnessed a murderous conflict; but the disobedience of one of

Napoleon's generals, saved the army of the enemy from total destruction. Still, however, that army retreated, followed by the emperor. At length, on the 5th of September, the grand army arrived on the plains of Borodino, a few miles from Moscow, on the banks of the Moskowa, and found itself in presence of the whole Russian army, commanded by the veteran Kutusoff. A general engagement was determined on, for the following day; and, on that memorable morning, Napoleon, issuing from his tent, thus addressed his officers:—‘How bright, to-day, is the sun!—it is the sun of Austerlitz!’ Then, in a proclamation to his soldiers, he said,—‘The battle is now at hand for which you have so longed: acquit yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witepsk, at Smolensko; and let posterity the most remote refer with pride to your deeds of this day. Let men say of each of you, when they shall behold you,—“He was at that great battle on the plains of Moscow!”’ The fight began almost immediately afterwards, and was a terrible one. Ney, Murat, Eugène, Davoust, Gérard, and Poniatowski, performed prodigies of valour. Auguste Caulaincourt was mortally wounded, while carrying, in a gallop, a formidable redoubt, at the head of his cuirassiers. The Russians at length gave way, after a most sanguinary struggle. Napoleon restrained his guards, and suffered the enemy, whom he might have annihilated, to escape. Twenty-two thousand French, and fifty thousand







DRAWING A PLAN OF ATTACK IN THE SNOW.

Russians were killed or wounded on that murderous day. A great number of the generals of France were slain ; but the victory was hers, and marshal Ney was proclaimed prince of the Moskowa, on the field of battle. A second engagement took place, at Mojaïsk, half a league from Moscow, where the Russians were again beaten ; and their army entered into the ancient capital of their empire, only to abandon it. Thither the French penetrated, after them : but were astonished at the solitude which reigned within its walls. The streets were deserts, and the inhabitants had fled. Napoleon entered, unresisted, into the ancient citadel of the Kremlin. Moscow he looked upon as an asylum, after the sufferings and fatigues of his army. He found immense resources within the city, and here, therefore, he resolved to establish his winter quarters,—and looked proudly around on his conquest. But, during the night, a frightful conflagration broke out. Rostopchin, the governor of the city, had determined, in evacuating it, on an immense sacrifice, for the salvation of his country. Russia was lost, if the French should find a shelter in Moscow. At an appointed signal, and by order of Rostopchin, a band of convicts spread themselves throughout the city, carrying flame in their hands, and set fire to it in a thousand parts. Moscow crumbled away beneath the conflagration ; and little more of her was left, in a few hours, than a heap of cinders and ruins.

The winter was approaching, and the French had no longer an asylum to look forward to against its rigours. Napoleon still flattered himself with the hope of peace, and Alexander prolonged the negotiations purposely, with the view of detaining his enemy amid the ruins of Moscow. At length, however, the negotiations were broken up, and the order was issued for retreat. The emperor quitted the city at the head of a hundred thousand fighting men, after forty days of fruitless expectation.—‘Your day of warfare is ended,’ had said old Kutusoff, ‘and ours is about to begin.’ The winter set in suddenly, with more than its usual rigour, even in the heart of Russia. The French troops, paralysed by the cold, were pursued and harassed in their retreat by innumerable enemies, and the roads were covered with their frozen corpses. Still, however, the army marched in tolerable order as far as the Beresina, which it had to cross in the presence of three Russian armies. The river was, as yet, unfrozen over, though covered with floating ice. It was necessary to construct rafts, under the fire of the enemy, and at the same time make head against them unceasingly. At this place were, again, achieved prodigies of heroism; but the rafts were encumbered by multitudes of stragglers and disarmed soldiers, and, yielding to the pressure, thousands of men were engulfed in the waters of the Beresina. At length, after incredible efforts, this formidable barrier was cleared; but the moral





RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.

as well as physical strength of the soldiers was beaten down ; the cold set in afresh, with renewed rigour ; and the retreat was, thenceforth, one vast and frightful rout.

Paris had been twenty-one days without tidings of the emperor and the grand army ; and a prisoner, general Mallet, spreading a report in that capital of Napoleon's death, had nearly accomplished the suspension of his government. The emperor, however, had foreseen that his presence in Paris was indispensable, to counteract the plots of his enemies, and create new military resources. On the 5th of December, he quitted his shattered army, the command of which he gave to the king of Naples, and which arrived at Wilna, stripped of every thing. Ney strove to reanimate it by his own heroic example. He was prodigal in the exposure of his own life, for its defence, and was the last to retire, confronting the enemy, now as general, and now as a common soldier.

But with the reverses of the French arms, commenced the defections of the allies of France. The Prussians, who covered the right of the army, during its retreat, abandoned Macdonald, at Tilsit. The Austrians, commanded by Schwartzemberg, followed the example, treated with the enemy, and by their secession left the army exposed on the opposite wing. Murat, himself, the commander-in-chief, abandoned his post, and deserted. Eugène assumed the command, and restored order. France



had, in the meantime, made a new effort, and given a fresh army to Napoleon, at the head of which he marched to meet Eugène. Austria, seized with alarm, made fresh protestations of fidelity; while Prussia entered into treaty with Russia, at Kalisch, and England, by the promise of Norway to Sweden, purchased the active co-operation of Bernadotte against France. Napoleon, threatened on every side, rejoined, on the 30th of April, 1813, Eugène and the wreck of his grand army, at Lutzen. He gained, with an army of conscripts, the brilliant victories of Lutzen, Bautzen, and Wurschen, against the veteran troops of Europe; and then negotiated anew for peace. A congress was opened at Prague, on the 4th of June, and Napoleon accepted the mediation of Austria; who demanded that the French empire should be bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Meuse. The emperor hesitated; the congress was suddenly dissolved, without result, and Austria declared war against France. The allies had five hundred thousand men, under Schwartzenberg, Blucher, and Bernadotte, the prince royal of Sweden: Napoleon had only three hundred thousand, forming eleven divisions, under the several commands of Vandamme, Victor, Bertrand, Ney, Lauriston, Marmont, Reynier, Poniatowski, Macdonald, Oudinot, and Saint-Cyr. The cavalry was commanded by the king of Naples, Latour-Maubourg, Sebastiani, and Kellermann. Mortier and Nansouty led the guard;



and these forces formed the last hope of France. Wherever Napoleon fought in person, he was victorious. He gave battle under the walls of Dresden, and triumphed ; general Moreau, his ancient rival in glory, being mortally wounded in the enemies' ranks. But Vandamme suffered a terrible reverse at Kulm, where he was made prisoner, and lost ten thousand men. The three sovereigns, Alexander, Francis, and Frederick-William, negotiated a triple alliance, at Toplitz : and the emperor of Austria, himself, appointed their meeting in the camp of his son-in-law, whom he designated as the common enemy. The allied armies daily increased ; and several unfortunate actions were fought with inferior forces. Oudinot was beaten at Grosberen, Ney at Dennewitz, Macdonald at the Katzbach. The king of Bavaria declared war against Napoleon ; and the French, hemmed in on all sides, retired upon Leipsic. Thus did the emperor experience the fatal consequences of his oppressive system. So long as he was victorious, Europe, under the influence of fear, was silent and submissive before him ; but in the moment of his reverses, all the classes whose prejudices or whose interests he had wounded, revolted at once, and combined for his destruction.

A sanguinary battle was fought beneath the walls of Leipsic ; where a hundred and thirty thousand French contended against three hundred thousand soldiers of the enemy. The former were abandoned

and betrayed by the Saxons, whose old king was the last that had remained faithful to Napoleon. This defection compromised the safety of the army; and Napoleon commanded a retreat, which was effected by the single bridge over the Elster. Suddenly an order, misunderstood, and but too rapidly executed, caused the bridge to be blown up, before the army had completed the passage. This disaster decided the fate of the campaign. Twenty thousand men were made prisoners; two hundred pieces of cannon, and an immense war materiel, fell into the hands of the allies; and a multitude of brave men, amongst whom was the heroic Poniatowski, perished in the waters of the river. Napoleon, pursued by the enemy, arrested him yet once more, and overthrew him in the glorious battle of Hanau. After this, he established himself on the Rhine; whilst the allies encamped opposite to him, and made their head-quarters at Frankfort.

By this time, Spain was irrevocably lost to France. Two great battles lost, one by Marmont, in 1812, and another, at Vittoria, by king Joseph in 1813, had brought Wellington to the Pyrenees. Soult, subsequently appointed commander-in-chief in the peninsula, had sustained the war, at the head of sixty thousand men, against forces far superior; and the emperor, at the close of 1813, possessed, in all Spain, only the little port of Santona. Eugène still defended himself in Italy; whilst even Murat had deserted the cause of Napoleon.

France now beheld herself, once more, menaced in her ancient limits, as she had been in 1789 ; but her population had no longer, as then, the impulse of independence which had enabled them to free her territory. All those who had either applauded, or consented to the elevation of Napoleon, had separated themselves from him. His conscriptions, his blockades, his military courts, and his accumulated taxes, had all become intolerable to the nation. Bonaparte had, in the day of his prosperity, abused France, and misinterpreted her wishes ; and, in the day of his danger, France abandoned him. At the close of 1813, he made preparations for a new campaign ; and the senate, still complying, granted him three hundred thousand men ; but the legislative body ventured, for the first time, to resist. M. Lainé, in the name of a committee chosen by that body, made a report hostile to the measures of government, and demanding the abandonment of conquest and the re-establishment of liberty. An address to the emperor, in the spirit of this report, was voted by a large majority. Napoleon, irritated by an opposition so unexpected, and, in the face of an enemy, so dangerous, closed the doors of the legislative body, ordered its dissolution, and dismissed that assembly in person, with haughty and reproachful words. From that day, the domestic defections began ; and Europe was suffered to perceive, by this imprudent outbreak of Napoleon, that the nation no longer made common cause with its emperor.

In the commencement of 1814, the entire male population of the east was summoned to arms, thirty thousand men of the national guard of Paris were put in motion, and the last resources of the empire were called into action. Marie-Louise was declared regent; and Napoleon took the field, on the 25th of January, after having intrusted the command of the capital to his brother Joseph. The English were advancing by the south; one hundred and fifty thousand men, under Schwartzemberg, were pouring into France, by way of Switzerland; a hundred and thirty thousand Prussians, commanded by Blucher, were approaching from Frankfort; and, finally, a hundred thousand Swedes and Germans were penetrating into Belgium, under Bernadotte. General Maison in the north, Augereau at Lyons, and Soult in the Pyrenees, were commissioned to arrest the enemy. The emperor, himself, marched into Champagne, against Schwartzemberg and Blucher; whilst Eugène still struggled in Italy, and a congress opened conferences for peace at Châtillon. Napoleon, in the face of these accumulated dangers, was once more visited by the most brilliant inspirations of his genius, and redoubled at once his daring and his activity. Never had he been more profound in his strategic combinations, or more skilful in their execution. He all but destroyed the two most formidable amongst the hostile armies, attacking them in succession. Blucher he crushed at Champ-Aubert, at Montmirail, and at

Château-Thierry; and then flung himself upon the Austrians, and overthrew them at Montereau. But these successes became fatal to him, by the confidence which they inspired. He could not, yet, bring himself to accept the propositions of the allied powers, and consent that France should return within her ancient boundaries. The enemy, however, was triumphant wherever Napoleon was not present in person. The English entered Bordeaux, which declared for the Bourbons; the Austrians occupied Lyons,—and the allies marched, in concert, upon Paris. Then, at length, Napoleon subscribed to the demands of the congress; but it was now too late,—the conferences were dissolved. Joseph had orders to defend Paris to the last extremity. The emperor reckoned on his power to do this, and conceived the daring project of cutting off the retreat of the allies, by throwing himself rapidly behind them, at Saint-Dizier. This step, which might, yet, have saved his crown, had it been seconded, had only the effect of causing him to lose time which was most precious. The two great armies of the allied powers had effected their junction, and were approaching the capital, which Marie-Louise evacuated, with her son, transporting the regency to Blois. Napoleon returned with all speed towards Paris, but he was now too late. Marshals Marmont and Mortier had, on the 30th of March, fought a glorious battle under the walls of the city, with only twenty thousand men, opposed to the

entire force of the enemy. They were ignorant that the emperor was close at hand; and Joseph gave the order to capitulate, abandoned his post, set out for Orleans, and the allied troops entered Paris on the 31st of March. Napoleon was hastening to the relief of the capital, when, on the 1st of April, he received this terrible news. He instantly fell back upon Fontainbleau, where his army took up its position. There, he learned that the senate, which had so debased itself by its servility and adulation, had now proclaimed him a tyrant, and, under the direction of M. de Talleyrand, declared 'That Napoleon had forfeited the crown,—that the right of succession in his family was abrogated,—and that the French people and army were released from their oath of allegiance to him.'

The emperor, at the head of fifty thousand men, whom the coalition had not yet been able to subdue, and occupying a formidable position in the enemy's rear, was still in a condition to resist. He might rejoin the armies of the vice-king, of Augereau, and of Soult. At one time, he determined upon manœuvring around Paris, and, at another, on marching towards the Loire. But around him reigned a silence which was the forerunner of desertions. Weariness of war, or treason, had already detached from him many of his generals,—and some of them those whom he had laden with honours and riches. After so long a series of fatigues, they panted to enjoy the rank to which he

had elevated them. Napoleon guessed their secret thoughts, and resigned himself to the necessity of abdicating ; but he determined to dictate the conditions of his own fall, and transfer the crown to his son. He sent, as plenipotentiaries, to the allied sovereigns, three men, whose fidelity no proof had shaken,—Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza. With these, he joined in commission Marmont, duke of Ragusa, his ancient aid-de-camp, of whom he had said :—‘He is my very son,—brought up beneath my own tent,’ and to whom he had intrusted the advanced post of Essone, which covered Fontainebleau :—and yet, Marmont was, at this moment, in treaty with Schwartzemberg, under pretext that the army was, by the decree of the senate, absolved from its oath of fidelity to the emperor.

The defection of Ragusa and his corps dictated the reply of Alexander to the plenipotentiaries. He demanded the unconditional abdication of Napoleon ; and, on the same day, the provisional government and the senate called to the throne Louis Stanislaus Xavier, the brother of Louis XVI., and published a new constitution, the acceptance of which was to be the condition of that prince’s accession to the crown.

The emperor, betrayed by Marmont, and abandoned by many of his old companions in arms, meditated laying down his life, and escaping by suicide the necessity of signing his own abdication



and that of his descendants. But the poison of which he made use for this purpose, and which he carried always about him since the fatal catastrophe of Moscow, had lost its virtue by the operation of time. A long stupor succeeded to his pangs, and effaced the symptoms of approaching death. It is said, that, on awakening from his state of insensibility, Napoleon, astonished to find himself still in life, remained for some moments plunged in thought. ‘God wills it otherwise!’ he said, and abandoning himself to the decision of Providence, he calmly submitted to his new destinies.

From that moment, he offered no further resistance; but signed, on the 13th of April, at Fontainebleau, the treaty which declared him and his descendants to have forfeited the throne of France. The sacrifice being complete, on the 20th of April, Napoleon took leave of his brave army. His guard awaited him under arms, and ranged in battle order, in the court-yard of the palace. The emperor traversed his apartments, and found, in his passage, the duke of Bassano, generals Belliard and Foulcr, his secretary, baron Fain, and a few superior officers — the last and sole remains of a court which had, once, been the most numerous and brilliant in Europe. He held out his hand to them, rapidly descended the stairs, and, advancing towards his guard, cast an agitated look upon his old warriors, and spoke as follows:—‘Soldiers of my old guard, I bid you farewell. For twenty years past, I have

found you, ever, on the path of glory and of honour. In these latter days, as in those of our prosperity, you have not, for a moment, ceased to be models of valour and of fidelity. With men like you, our cause could not be lost; but the war had been, already, too far prolonged. It must now, too, have been a civil war; and France must have suffered more than she has already done. I have therefore sacrificed your interests and my own, to those of our country, — and I am about to depart. You, my friends, will continue to serve France; whose happiness has been my only aim, and will be ever the object of my prayers. Lament not for my fate. If I have consented to survive you, it is that I may still contribute to your glory: I am about to commit to writing the great things which we have achieved together. Farewell, my children! Fain would I press you all to my heart, — let me, at least, embrace your standard!’ At these words, general Petit, snatching up the eagle, advanced with it towards the emperor. Napoleon kissed the ensign, amid the loud sobs of his soldiers. The emperor, greatly agitated, recovered himself by an effort, and resumed with a firmer voice; — ‘Yet once again, adieu, my old companions in arms! Let this last embrace pass into your hearts!’ Then throwing himself into his carriage, he departed for the island of Elba; which had been assigned to him, in full sovereignty, by the treaty of Fontainebleau, and whither the generals, Bertrand, Drouet, and

Cambronne, with four hundred soldiers of the guard had obtained permission to follow his fortunes.

Thus fell, the first time, that colossus of power which had governed France for fourteen years, and seen, for a time, the entire continent subject to its will. It was never the destiny of any man to attain to fortunes more brilliant; and never did any one more powerfully agitate the whole of Europe. A great statesman and a great captain, he re-established order in France, and made her glorious in the eyes of foreign nations by his marvellous victories. He was gifted with prodigious strength of resolution, combined with an apprehension of great things; and, like Louis XIV., so long as he sought the inspirations of his genius in the wants and wishes of the nation, they produced results propitious and lasting. His civil code—the re-organization of the judicial powers and of the council of state—the system of administrative centralization, which, by impressing on France a great character of strength and unity, placed her in a condition to support, unbroken, the most fearful shocks—many useful constructions, such as the admirable road over the Simplon, the canal of Saint-Quentin, the works at Cherbourg, the ports which he caused to be formed, and the magnificent monuments with which he enriched the capital and many other towns—and his decrees for the exposition of the products of labour and ingenuity—are sufficient to immortalize his reign. Studiously

careful of all which might contribute to the splendour of France and add to his own glory, he occupied himself with the interests of commerce, manufactures, letters, and arts, in the intervals between his battles. But that all-grasping activity of mind had, unhappily, its source in a measureless ambition; and it is worthy of remark, that, on every occasion on which the conceptions of his despotic egotism departed from the path avowed by morality, or pointed out by the true interests of France, they became fatal to himself, contributing to his future reverses. The execution of the duke d'Enghien raised a cry of indignation against him, — restrained, at the moment, by fear, but destined to find terrible echoes in the day of his disasters. His treacherous usurpation of the Spanish crown opened that country to the English, and devoured the flower of his soldiers. His oppressive system of blockade condemned him to the fatal necessity of being always victorious. And, finally, the entire destruction of the liberty of the press separated him from the fellowship of public opinion, and contributed powerfully to deceive him as to the resources which the nation was likely to offer him, in the hour of adversity. At the point to which our history has now brought us, Napoleon is fallen; but his terrible part is not, yet, finished. The giant is, once more, to lift up his head; and in his second fall he is, a second time, to shake the world.

## CHAPTER XVII.

THE RESTORATION OF LOUIS EIGHTEENTH. THE  
HUNDRED DAYS.



THE gravest evil which usually attaches to a political restoration, accomplished after a considerable lapse of time, arises from the fact that those in favour of whom that restoration is effected, have, for the most part, become strangers to the new feelings and manners of the nation which they are thereby called upon to govern. Their affections and prejudices are all with the men and things of a period past away, but whose memory is linked, in their minds, with the recollections of their own greatness and prosperity; and it is scarcely to be expected that they should look otherwise than with distrust and aversion on all things which have arisen out of those opinions to which they attribute their own humiliation and long misfortunes. The new generation, whose interests are linked with the existing order of things, is but too well prepared to hold them guilty, by anticipation,

of those prejudices and sentiments so natural to their position ; whilst, on the other hand, the party whose hopes are attached to the re-establishment of an overthrown system, triumph in the belief that there is a necessary conformity between their own wishes and those of the princes over whose return they rejoice. Thence, on the one side, foolish hopes, imprudent menaces, and rash projects, are met, on the other, by gloomy apprehensions, natural repugnances, spreading disaffection, and dangerous plots. When to this fermentation of civil disturbances are added, in the popular mind, those humiliating recollections inseparable from a forcible restoration, —when that restoration is introduced by great national calamities as its heralds, and accompanied by foreign bayonets as its supporters—it may be safely predicated, ere a single word has been pronounced, or a single fault committed, that great resistance is to be apprehended, and great danger inevitable. Such were the unpropitious circumstances which accompanied the restoration of the Bourbons, in 1814 ; and ere yet a single member of that family had set foot on the soil of France, it was easy to estimate the obstacles which they would have to encounter, and to foresee the storms ready to burst forth around their path.

Louis Stanislaus Xavier, the head of the royal house, whom the senate summoned to the throne, under the title of Louis XVIII., was a prince of judgment, with a mind capable of appreciating the

character of the times. In his youth, he had acquired, as comte de Provence, a certain degree of popularity, by declaring himself, in the second assembly of notables, in favour of the double representation of the *tiers état*. Subsequently, during the emigration, he fought against the republic, and protested against the sovereignty of Napoleon, asserting his own right to the crown. Driven from the continent, he sought an honourable asylum in England, where he had long lived in retirement, at Hartwell, surrounded by a few friends, when the reverses of the French arms opened up his way to the throne. The members of his family, MONSIEUR, the comte d'Artois, his brother, the dukes of Angoulême and Berry, the sons of Monsieur, and finally the two princes of the house of Condé who survived the unfortunate duke d'Enghien, were known to Europe only by their fruitless efforts to triumph over the revolution by the aids of civil war and foreign armies. Of all the princes of the house of Bourbon, the duke of Orleans alone, the first prince of the blood, had borne the national colours, and fought against the enemies of France. Amongst the other members of the royal family, the most distinguished was the illustrious daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie-Antoinette, wife of the duc d'Angoulême,—a princess worthy, alike from her misfortunes and her own greatness of mind, to excite a profound and universal interest, but who had too much to forget, and too many things to forgive, for



France to behold her return to the soil of her early sufferings without apprehension.

Monsieur, the comte d'Artois, preceded his brother; and made his entry into Paris, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, on the 12th of April, 1814. A very happy and graceful remark of his gave a first impression greatly in his favour. 'Nothing,' said he, in his proclamation to the Parisians, 'is changed in France, by my coming, save that there is one Frenchman more.' Yet he, himself, gave the first signal of a political reaction, by substituting the white flag and cockade, long since forgotten, for the glorious colours which were associated with the memory of so many triumphs for France.

Louis XVIII. speedily followed his brother, and was received at Calais by general Maison. Yielding to the counsels of those about him, he refused, through a sentiment of mistaken pride, to accept the constitution tendered by the senate, accusing that body of encroaching upon his hereditary rights. Enlightened however, by the earnest representations of the emperor Alexander, and of M. de Talleyrand, a statesman skilled, above all others, in anticipating at all times the wants and wishes of France, he caused his entry into the capital to be preceded by a celebrated declaration, dated at Saint-Ouen, which guarantied to the French the enjoyment of the liberties promised by the senatorial constitution, and maintained a large proportion of its clauses. On the following day the 3d of May, took place

the solemn entry of the king and madame la duchesse d'Angoulême into Paris. No foreign soldier appeared in the royal cortége; the monarch was escorted by the old guard; and a great portion of the public interest was attracted to these brave warriors, whose air of gloom and sadness contrasted with the enthusiasm of the partisans of the house of Bourbon. The cry of *Vive le roi!* was more than once drowned in that of *Vive la garde!* and many of the spectators carried away from that solemnity dark and painful forebodings. These alarms were augmented by the formation of the ministry, which included several members wholly strangers to the spirit of the revolution, and recommended to the monarch's choice by services anterior to 1789, or by his own personal attachment. Of this number were M. Dambray, chancellor of France, and keeper of the seals — M. l'abbé de Montesquieu, minister of the interior — and M. le comte de Blacas, minister of the royal household. General Dupont, unfortunately celebrated for the capitulation of Baylen, had the war portfolio; M. de Talleyrand was minister for foreign affairs; M. Malouet had the navy department, the baron Louis that of finance, and M. Beugnot the direction of the police of the kingdom. Active negotiations for peace were set on foot. The glorious but undecisive battle fought by marshal Soult, with a very inferior force, against the duke of Wellington, beneath the walls of Toulouse, operated no

change in the general condition of affairs ; and, on the 30th of May, a definitive peace was concluded between France and the allied powers by the treaty of Paris. France returned within her ancient limits, retaining Avignon, the Venaissin county, Mulhausen, and a small portion of Savoy,—and restoring to the allies fifty-three fortresses still in the occupation of her troops, with all the war material which they contained. England seized upon three of the French colonies, the isle of France, Saint Lucie, and Tobago ; whilst France retained possession of the island of Bourbon, Guiana, Pondicherry, Guadeloupe, and Martinique. Shortly after the signing of this treaty, the French territory was freed from foreign troops.

The king convoked, for the 4th of June, the senators and the legislative body, which had been violently dissolved by Napoleon ; and, on the same day, in their presence, made a solemn gift to the French of a constitutional charter, the principal provisions of which were a repetition of those contained in the act of the senate and the declaration of Saint-Ouen. It established a representative government, composed of the king and two chambers—the one of peers, named for life, by the king—and the other of deputies from the departments. It guarantied individual liberty, the freedom of the press, and that of religious worship, the inviolability of property, the irrevocability of the sales of the national estates, the responsibility of ministers, the

annual vote of contributions, and the independence of the tribunals. It recognised the public debt, restored the ancient nobility, and acknowledged and retained the new. This charter was to be sworn to by the kings of France, at their coronation; and was generally well adapted to the wants of the nation, and the wishes expressed for the last twenty-five years, by the most distinguished men of France. Immediately after its reading, the chancellor communicated the ordinance which constituted the chamber of peers, composed principally of the old senators, the marshals, and a great number of dignitaries of the ancient court and the nobility.

But the promulgation of the constitutional act was accompanied by one grave fault. The king had refused to accept it as the condition of his elevation to the throne, and chose to confer it as the simple act of his sovereign will, at the same time that he made the preamble bear date the nineteenth year of his reign. This was, in fact, to refuse to take any reckoning of all that had passed in France, during the last twenty-five years; it was erecting the royal will, in virtue of a pretended divine right unintelligible to the great majority of the French over the will of the entire nation; in a word, it was putting the charter in danger, and surrendering it, by anticipation, to the caprices of a suspicious and undefined power. In fact, if the prince, himself, who was the author of this constitution, recog-

nised in it no more than an act emanating from his sole authority, it was to be feared that a king less judicious or enlightened than he, might, one day, hold himself at liberty to alter or revoke it, in virtue of the same hereditary and inalienable right. The first consequences of this capital error were to exaggerate the premature apprehensions of some, and inflame the audacious hopes of others; and to this great fault may be imputed a large proportion of the misfortunes of the restoration.

The dangers of the ground which the monarch had taken up as the foundation of his power soon became manifest. All those who had looked upon the return of the Bourbons with discontent, now perceived that the latter, in maintaining, against their will, the state of things produced by the revolution, by no means regarded that event as an irrevocable fact. These were loud in the expression of their suspicion and alarm; and the press, violent and implacable, gave loud echoes to their menaces and apprehensions. The government lost no time in fettering its action; and the censorship was re-established, by a perversion of the true sense of one of the articles of the constitution. The partisans of the old régime continued, nevertheless, to indulge themselves in fanatical declamations; and, as always happens when the liberty of the press is suspended, the people attributed to the government the instigation of those excesses which it failed to repress. Imprudent words too often fell from the lips

of the ministers and servants of the government, and those who arrogated to themselves exclusively the name of royalists, indulged in bitter invectives, not only against the charter, and the guarantees which it offered, but even against its royal author, himself. Ordinances were issued, some offensive to the army and nation, and others vexatious and irritating in their character. Expiatory solemnities were appointed, in honour of the royal victims of the revolutionary tempest; and, in the language of the official proclamations, as well as in that of the pulpit, France was continually accused of all the atrocities committed during the reign of terror. The clergy essayed their power, by issuing an ordinance which interdicted all public amusements on the Sundays and sacred days of the church. Already they spoke of recovering their tithes and their domains, and denounced the purchasers of the national property; and, finally, the greater number of the bishops adhered openly, and with all their hearts, to the bull of Pope Pius VII., which re-established the order of the Jesuits, so unpopular throughout the kingdom. The army, consigned to obscure garrisons, grieved over their lost eagles, which the fleurs-de-lis had supplanted, and hid, with many sighs, the colours which they had made so glorious, beneath the white cockade. They had seen a number of officers, who had grown grey in their ranks, dismissed by general Dupont, and afterwards by marshal Soult, (compelled, as they were,

to yield to the exigencies of the court,) and replaced by men whose birth, or services in foreign armies, formed their sole title to the honours of military command. These new-comers, full of recollections of the old monarchy, spoke of the white plume of Henry IV., and the christian virtues of Saint-Louis, to men who had followed Napoleon into all the capitals of Europe, but who, for the most part, were ignorant of the very names of Saint-Louis and Henry IV. Irritation and uneasiness agitated all those classes whose interests were intimately connected with those of the revolution; and several distinct parties were formed, almost equally hostile to the system adopted by the government. Queen Hortense, the daughter of the empress Josephine, and wife of Louis Bonaparte, was the centre and soul of the imperialist party, in Paris. Fouché, Grégoire, and the ex-directors Barras and Carnot, were at the head of the patriot faction, whose dreams were of a republic, and who of course desired to overthrow the monarchy. In the foremost ranks of the constitutionalists, were La Fayette, Benjamin Constant, Lanjuinais, Boissy d'Anglas, and De Bröglie. And finally, the party most dangerous of all by its power, that which was designated under the title of ultra-royalist, had for its chief Monsieur, the king's brother. The comtes de Blacas and de Vaublanc were its most active members; and, as well as Monsieur, were incessant in their efforts to urge Louis XVIII. to unpopular acts, in



opposition, at once to the spirit of the charter, and to the personal inclinations of the monarch.

An active correspondence was, at the same time, carrying on between Paris and the island of Elba ; where Napoleon, with his eye upon France, rejoiced over all the faults of power and all the symptoms of popular irritation. Acquainted with the intrigues of the imperialists, and apprehending a fatal termination to the patriot cause, Barras and Fouché, two of the chiefs of that party, attempted to enlighten the government on its dangers, and to impress upon its proceedings a more judicious direction. Unknown to one another, they each demanded an audience of the king. M. de Blacas, at that time all-powerful with Louis XVIII., reminded the king of their regicide vote, as an obstacle to the granting of an interview with the monarch, and was, himself, commissioned to receive them. His prejudiced mind either could not, or would not, understand them ; and Fouché said, on quitting him :—‘ Let the king only continue to employ the services of that man, and he would lose a dozen crowns, one after the other.’

In the face of so many causes of agitation and revolt, the task of the government was one of immense difficulty ; and it acted without union, without intelligence, and without vigour. M. de Talleyrand had no longer a seat in the council,—being, at that time, absent, as the representative of France at the congress of sovereigns assembled, for some

months past, at Vienna, for the purpose of dividing the spoils of the vast empire of Napoleon. This congress, directed principally by the emperor Alexander, but in which prince Metternich for Austria, lord Castlereagh for England, and count Hardenberg for Prussia, exercised a very high influence, had already excited prodigious discontent. The monarchs had there assumed as a principle the right of sharing nations amongst them, like so many sheep. It was not, now, territorial extent, but the number of souls in each city and each country, which was taken as the basis of these partitions. No account whatever was made of the distinctions established between one people and another, by manners, national character, the demands of commerce, or religions ; but the interests of states of the second order were, in all cases, sacrificed to those of the great powers. The unfortunate king of Saxony, guilty of being faithful to Napoleon, was despoiled, for the benefit of Prussia and Russia ; the first of which obtained, besides the electorate of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and a great portion of the territory between the Rhine and the Meuse, —whilst Russia acquired the grand-duchy of Warsaw, under the name of the kingdom of Poland, and on the condition of ruling it by a special and constitutional government. Austria recovered Lombardy, and added thereto all the ancient possessions of Venice on both shores of the Adriatic. Tuscany was given to the archduke Ferdinand, Genoa to the

king of Sardinia, and Parma and Placentia to the ex-empress Maria-Louisa. The foreign policy of all the German states was submitted to the decision of a federal diet; in which Austria and Prussia contrived to secure the entire influence, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and the sovereigns of the secondary states. Sweden acquired Norway, at the expense of Denmark,—from whom England took away, in addition, Heligoland. The latter power, enriched by the colonies won during the war, and by her new conquests in India, retained, besides, the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Malta, and the Ionian Islands; and devoted her anxious care to the formation of the kingdom of the Netherlands, composed of Holland and Belgium united under the house of Orange,—and which appeared to that power to present a formidable barrier against France. The latter country having had its limits determined by the treaty of Paris, M. de Talleyrand had but an unimportant share in the operations of the congress. He confined himself principally to resisting the encroachments of Russia, and demanding the throne of Naples, filled by Murat, for the Sicilian Bourbons. His endeavours were, at first, unattended by anything like success; but alarmed, at length, for the maintenance of his rights, Murat once more entered into communication with the great man whom he had abandoned, invited him into Italy, and promised him vigorous aid. Such

was the general situation of Europe, at the beginning of March, 1815,—when an extraordinary event suddenly drew the eyes of all men, once more, towards France.

On the 27th of February, a brig of war, followed by six light barks, stole cautiously over the Mediterranean. A profound stillness reigned on board, and the glitter of arms flashed from every side. Four hundred soldiers, with weather-beaten faces, covered with scars, and of martial aspect, manned the brig; but, anxious and watchful, their eager eyes questioned every sail that appeared on the horizon. Suddenly, the brows of more than one of these heroes grew pale, as a ship of war hove in sight; and already the word ‘Elba,’ and murmurs of return, passed, in whispers, from mouth to mouth. But in the midst of these, stood one man, apparently unmoved, towards whom all eyes were turned, and who rejected all suggestions of delay to the execution of his vast enterprise. He pointed towards France, and shouted—‘Forward!’ That man was Napoleon, who had, once more, committed himself to his fortunes. Then, as on his return from Egypt, but, this time, for his own misfortune and that of France, he escaped the enemy’s cruisers; and, on the 1st of March, disembarked on the beach of Cannes, near Antibes, with a thousand soldiers, and his three gallant generals, Bertrand, Drouet, and Cambronne.

This daring enterprise was characterised, by

those about Louis XVIII., as an act of utter madness. The crowd of his courtiers were delighted, looking upon it as a mere abortive conspiracy,—a most fortunate event, the only effect of which would be to expose the secret designs of those whose places they coveted. It was proposed to organize a dictatorship, to raise the nation in mass, and to put an end to Bonaparte and the conspirators at once. The king convoked the two chambers; the comte d'Artois was commissioned to take charge of the military forces at Lyons, in conjunction with marshal Macdonald; Ney accepted the command of the troops scattered throughout Franche Comté, and took an oath of fidelity to the king; the duc de Feltre replaced Soult as minister at war; and, finally, by a royal ordinance, Napoleon Bonaparte was declared a rebel and a traitor, and all Frenchmen were enjoined to seize upon him as such.

Napoleon, however, continued to advance, by forced marches, amongst a people subdued by the magic charm of his name, of the tricoloured flag which he bore, and of his eloquent proclamations. To the people, who crowded round him, he said—‘Citizens, called to the throne by your choice, all which has been done without your assent is illegal. But your wishes shall be heard, and the national cause shall, yet, be triumphant. My return secures to you, once more, all the privileges which you have enjoyed for the last five and twenty years.’ To the army he said:—‘Soldiers, your voice has

reached me in my exile, and I have come to you, through every obstacle and every danger. Fling down the colours which the nation has proscribed, and around which have rallied all the enemies of France. Up, once more, with the tricoloured cockade, which you wore in all our great battles. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, and of the west, are humiliated; their honourable scars are sullied! Soldiers, place yourselves beneath the banners of your chief! victory shall march by your side, and the eagle shall fly, with the colours of the nation, from steeple to steeple, until it nestle upon the towers of Notre-Dame!’

The sole hope of Napoleon reposed on the affection and enthusiasm of the soldiery for his person: on their return to his standard depended the success of his vast enterprise. A first attempt, made on the garrison of Antibes, had failed; and, during several days, Bonaparte marched without meeting any forces, either friendly or hostile. At length, on the evening of the 7th of March, a battalion of seven hundred men presented themselves, at the defile of Vizille, near Grenoble, the road to which they cut off. The officer in command refused to parley, and threatened to fire on Napoleon’s party. This was the decisive moment. Napoleon advanced, alone, and on foot, and approaching within hearing of the troops, he opened his riding-coat, and thus addressed them:—‘Soldiers, it is I! look upon me!’

If there be a man amongst you who would slay his emperor, behold him here! he comes, with uncovered breast, to offer himself to your weapons!' All recoiled; admiration and enthusiasm took possession of their hearts; the cry of *Vive l'empereur!* was a thousand times repeated; the two parties fraternised, hoisted the same standard, and marched together upon Grenoble. Shortly afterwards, colonel Labédoyère appeared with his regiment, and joined Bonaparte,—to whom that unfortunate young man had vowed a sort of worship. Grenoble and Lyons opened their gates. In the latter city, the comte d'Artois was abandoned, and quitted it, with a single horseman for his escort. Everywhere, the soldiers responded to the appeal of their old general; the division of the army commanded by Ney yielded to the example, and Ney himself, won over by the sentiment of the hour, flung himself into the arms of his former general—his companion in arms. Then, for the first time, did Monsieur take the oath to the constitutional charter, in presence of the assembled chambers. In vain, however, did marshal Mortier and the garrison of La Fère repress, in the east, a revolt led by the generals Lallemant and Lefèvre-Desnouettes; in vain did the duc d'Angoulême, in Languedoc, and Madame, at Bordeaux,—the city which had been the first to proclaim the Bourbons,—endeavour to rally the troops in the royal cause: Napoleon was, already, but a few marches distant from the Tuileries.



In Paris, the troops gave no response to the cry of *Vive le roi!* Louis XVIII. understood their silence but too well; and, yielding to necessity, he hastily quitted his palace, in the night between the 19th and 20th of March. He repaired to Lille, and subsequently to Ghent; where he was speedily joined by M. de Talleyrand, and whither he was followed, besides his faithful servants, by all those who disguised their prudence beneath the semblance of devotion.

On the evening of the 20th of March, Napoleon re-entered the capital, without having fired a shot. His rapid march had been one continued triumph; yet never, perhaps, did sovereign, in repossessing himself of a crown, find himself in a situation more critical than did Napoleon, on his return from Elba, during that period so fatally celebrated as THE HUNDRED DAYS. France was exhausted, and divided into factions. The immense majority of enlightened Frenchmen, satisfied with the promises of the charter granted by Louis XVIII., which they hoped to see religiously fulfilled, looked back with terror on the imperial despotism. The south was menaced with civil war; La Vendée was once more in a state of fermentation; the Roche-Jacquelins, the Sapineauds, and the D'Autichamps, were agitating the Bocage; the working classes at Paris, Lyons, and other towns, were in a state of disturbance, which recalled the most gloomy periods of the revolution; the whole of Europe was, again, in arms; and

Murat was unsuccessful in his attempt to restore freedom to Italy. The congress of Vienna declared Napoleon to be without the social pale; and a million of soldiers were about, once more, to be poured into France. Under these circumstances, it became essential, at whatever cost, that, in this gigantic struggle, victory should give to the diademed forehead of Napoleon a new baptism of human blood.

It was the army almost alone that had recalled its emperor,—his return being in fact the work of the soldiers far more than of the people. So circumstanced, an almost unlimited authority was necessary to the chief; but, constrained to turn for support to those quarters where strength resided Napoleon sought it amongst the patriot party,—and that party, which nourished republican sentiments, could not bring itself to intrust to the author of the 19th Brumaire, a dictatorship even momentary. It became necessary for Bonaparte to flatter its chiefs, and hold the language of one who was a friend to the national liberties; and such language, in *his* mouth, was but a feeble instrument of success. For public opinion, when it has the upper hand, is only to be won over by the language of truth,—or by language which, if not sincere, at least wears the appearance of sincerity.

The first imperial decrees, dated from Lyons, were energetic. They pronounced the dissolution of the chambers of Louis XVIII.,—and convened

the electoral colleges to an extraordinary assembly, in the Champ de Mai, for the purpose of modifying the constitution of the empire, in the popular interest. The ancient nobility was abolished,—a sequestration ordered of all the property of the Bourbons,—and eleven heads were placed under proscription, including those of Talleyrand and Marmont. Yielding to the forced alliance which necessity imposed on him, the emperor admitted the patriot chiefs, Carnot and Fouché, into his council—the first as minister of the interior, the second as minister of police. He endeavoured, too, to gain over the constitutionalists; and Benjamin Constant had the greatest share in the drawing up of the act of addition to the constitution of the empire. This act adopted the leading features of the charter of Louis XVIII.; but, by its strange title, justly condemned by public opinion, it had the appearance of placing liberty in the train of despotism. Napoleon submitted it for the acceptance of the people, and it was approved of by a million of Frenchmen, while four thousand had the courage to protest against it. Bonaparte took the oath to this new constitution, in the solemn assembly of the Champ de Mai, where the eagles were distributed amongst the regiments, and where he, himself, appeared surrounded by all the ceremonial of the empire. The elections, which were almost entirely in the patriot interest, were, by this time, known; and the chamber of representatives assembled, on the 3d of June,

under auspices little promising for the emperor. Here, La Fayette reappeared on the political stage, after twenty years of honourable retreat. The votes for the presidency were divided betwixt him and Lanjuinais ; but the latter, who was the orator most hostile to the imperial government, obtained it. Military measures absorbed, now, all the thoughts of Napoleon. The nation was delivered from civil war ; the duc d'Angoulême, after some temporary successes, had capitulated ; and being, subsequently, taken prisoner by some peasants, was set at liberty by the emperor's order, and quitted France. La Vendée, itself, kept in check by the energetic and conciliatory measures of general Lamarque, laid down the sword. But Europe was advancing in arms. The English, under Wellington, and the Prussians, under Blucher, occupied Belgium. The German universities were animated against Bonaparte by a frenzied enthusiasm for liberty ; and, at their voice, all Germany arose,—whilst, in the background, the Russian columns and the hordes of Tartary were, already, in motion.

The genius of Napoleon, once more, raised, in a few days, a formidable army, from the soil of France. He reckoned three hundred thousand fighting men ; of which number one hundred and ten thousand were directed against Belgium. On the 12th of June he, himself, set out for the army, with the design of fighting Wellington and Blucher,—each of whom had ninety thousand men under

his command. His hope was to engage, and overthrow, them separately, and then to make head against Austria and Russia. On the 16th a bloody battle was fought round the village of Ligny, on the plain of Fleurus; where the Prussians were defeated, and lost twenty-two thousand men. The victor then advanced, with only seventy thousand soldiers, to meet the English, Dutch, and Hanoverian forces,—and came up with them at Waterloo. Grouchy, at the head of thirty-three thousand men, had orders to keep back the beaten troops of Blucher, and prevent their junction with the army of Wellington. The fight began, on the 18th of June, at eleven o'clock in the morning; and the destinies of the world were staked upon that battle-field. For several hours, the French maintained the advantage, and already the enemy had thoughts of retreating. About six o'clock, Napoleon ordered a formidable charge, and the English began to give way. The arrival of Grouchy or of Blucher, however, it was evident, must decide the victory. Suddenly, a numerous body of men were seen in the distance, on the right flank of the French army. On both sides, anxiety was, for a moment, at its height; but the confidence of Wellington was soon restored, and his victory assured,—for he had recognised the Prussians. Blucher had evaded Grouchy, and the struggle was decided. The rout of the French army was complete, and the carnage fearful. Two hundred pieces of cannon fell into

the enemy's hands. But the honour of France, at least, remained unsullied, on that dreadful day. Summoned to lay down their arms, some mutilated battalions of the old guard replied by this heroic cry:—‘The guard can die, but not surrender!’ Bewildered and distracted, in the midst of this irremediable disaster, Napoleon presented his breast to the bullets which flew around,—but could not die. For the second time, death seemed to shun him. Then, at length, despairing of his fortune, he abandoned the wreck of his army, and returned to Paris, to announce, in person, that all was lost.

The aspect of the representatives, already but ill-disposed towards him, was gloomy and threatening. La Fayette arose, and spoke with severity. On his proposal, it was resolved that any attempt to dissolve the chamber should be punished as high treason. Napoleon saw that his own friends were smitten with consternation; the populace of the faubourgs, alone, still greeted him with the cry of *Vive l'empereur!* mixed, however, with savage clamours. He could not resolve to throw himself upon them for support, and let them loose against the representatives of the nation. He prudently resisted the entreaties of his brother Lucien, who exhorted him to attempt another 18th Brumaire; and signed a second abdication, in favour of his son. This act the chambers accepted; and, without pronouncing positively in favour of Napoleon II., formed a government, composed of the ministers

Carnot and Fouché, duke of Otranto, the generals Caulaincourt and Grenier, and Quinette, formerly a member of the convention. Fouché, suspected of having betrayed the emperor, was appointed president of this provisional government.

Napoleon quitted Paris; and from Malmaison, whither he retired, he turned his eyes towards America. Behind him, innumerable enemies were pouring into France; the roads to Paris were open, and the English and Prussians were rapidly approaching by them. One hundred and sixty thousand French soldiers might, still, in a few days, be assembled beneath the walls of the capital, and cut off their retreat. Napoleon traced in his mind, and on the map, the imprudent march of his enemies; and, once more, his warlike genius awoke. He wrote to the provisional government that he had formed an infallible plan for their destruction, and demanded permission to fight them but as a simple general. His offer was insultingly rejected by Fouché. The emperor then resigned himself to abandon France; and directed his steps towards Rochefort, under the protection of general Becker. But the English cruisers were hovering about the port; and, deluded by a strange infatuation, Napoleon flattered himself that an act of noble confidence, on his part, might triumph over the imperious demands of a necessary policy. He presented himself, with his suite, on board the English ship, *Bellerophon*: from whence he wrote to the prince



regent, demanding permission to sit down, like another Themistocles, by the British hearth, and claim the protection of the British laws. The reply to this letter was an order to convey the illustrious suppliant to Saint Helena ; and, almost immediately afterwards, he sailed—for the world's repose—towards the rock which was destined to be his retreat, his prison, and his tomb. Thus did this wonderful man disappear, for the second time, and for ever, from the political horizon ; leaving behind him an immense void, within whose arena struggled those passions, whose shock sent frightful oscillations afar throughout Europe :—like some huge vessel, which, after having ridden triumphant over the sea, is suddenly engulfed by the waters, and, as it sinks into the dark abyss, continues long to agitate the surface of the foaming waves.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

## CAPTIVITY AND DEATH OF NAPOLEON.



It is not our purpose to fatigue the reader with a detail of the petty persecutions inflicted on the unfortunate emperor, by the British ministry, during the six years of his dreary imprisonment on the island of St. Helena. Every thing that was calculated to wound his feelings, irritate his sensibility, and wear out his health, was resorted to. The attendants most agreeable to him were removed. He was watched by coarse spies. His favourite physician was ordered to leave the island; and, to crown the whole, a petty, vulgar, cruel, and malignant wretch, named Sir Hudson Lowe, was placed over him in the character of gaoler, who rendered himself so utterly odious to Napoleon, that on one occasion he threw away a cup of coffee, declaring that the looks of the governor had poisoned it.

At length the purpose of the British government was accomplished.

The great captain, who had been victor in fifty-two pitched battles, and disposed, at his pleasure, of the sceptres of the world, died, on the 5th of May, 1821, at Saint Helena, surrounded by a few faithful friends,—carried off, after some months of a lingering and painful disease, and a captivity of six years. Napoleon perished of a disease of the liver, the progress of which was accelerated by the influence of an unwholesome climate, the severity of his gaoler, Sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of the island, and, more than all, by the fever of an imagination, whose activity had no longer any other food than poignant regrets, after having, long, had the whole world for its sphere of operations. The stern historian is compelled to say that, in that vast sphere of which he had made himself the centre, his egotism employed all things with a reference to himself. Napoleon held human nature in contempt; men were in his eyes no more than ciphers, whose value was represented by the services that he could extract out of them. He loved war, as a professed gambler loves the game in which his skill is pre-eminent. Like the gambler, too, he risked, every day, the gains of yesterday, and had himself to reproach for almost all his disasters. The restoration of order in France, and many useful creations of his genius, constitute his true titles to glory; but the comparison of the good which he did with that which he might have done, had he been governed by none but moral and pa-

triotic views, must ever weigh upon his memory as a subject of heavy reproach. His insatiable ambition twice laid his country open to the invasion of foreign arms ; and the calamities by which those invasions have been followed, and the blood of two millions of men, shed in innumerable combats during his reign, have taught France how heavy a price the glory of a conqueror costs. Let us, however, hope that she may not have suffered so deeply, without some future benefit being derived to humanity therefrom. Napoleon, in the course of his triumphant march throughout the nations of Europe, at the head of kings and princes and powerful chiefs, all sprung from the ranks of the people, scattered, wherever he passed, certain notions on equality of rights, which have become, in our day, the basis of political freedom ; and, in his double catastrophe, by twice drawing into France the armies of combined Europe, he introduced the most distant nations to a higher civilization, which will, hereafter, no doubt, establish new links of connexion between them and his countrymen, and be the remote means of effecting a greater harmony between their social institutions and our own. Such was the spell of this marvellous man, that, at the distance of eighteen hundred leagues from Europe, he still filled it with the echoes of his name. His great image loomed afar, from his solitary rock in the ocean, a perpetual object of terror to some, and of hope to others. His death hurried some of these

latter into rash and desperate enterprises,—whilst, in delivering their adversaries from a salutary fear, it left them at liberty to abandon themselves, with less of prudence and reserve, to their reactionary and disastrous inclinations.

In the autumn of 1840, the remains of Napoleon were removed from St. Helena, and carried to France in the frigate *Belle Poule*, under the command of the Prince de Joinville. In December of the same year, a grand funeral procession accompanied the remains of the emperor with magnificent pomp, and great enthusiasm, to the Church of the Invalids, where they were deposited in their last resting-place.













